1: Hollis C-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

claim to belong to them live elsewhere. Merker gives as the principal divisions three provinces, Kisongo, Loita, and Ol-lorogga. This is perhaps not according to Masai traditions, but is not incorrect as a practical description of the present distribution of the tribe. The Loita and Ol-lorogga, also known as Elbergon and Purko, are both subdivisions of the Naivasha district, of whom the former acquired importance by refusing to accept the present Laibon, Lenana, and following instead his brother Sendeyo. Besides these districts, there are four clans representing genealogical not territorial divisions: Aiser, Matapato, Mokonen, and Molelyan. The Aiser seem to enjoy a certain primacy. The medicine men all belong to this clan, which is specially connected with Mount Ngong (to the south of Kikuyu), also called Ol-donyo lon-'l-Aiser, the mountain of the Aiser.

According to the social system of the pastoral Masai the male sex is divided into boys, warriors, and elders. The first stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed any time between thirteen and seventeen, or sometimes in the case of poor people not till twenty. Those who are circumcised about the same time (see p. xlv for details) are said to belong to the same age, and are known collectively by a distinctive name, such as "the White Swords" or "the Invincibles." After circumcision the warriors plait their hair, but, except for a small skin hanging over the shoulders, and their arms and ornaments (which are described by Mr. Hollis), go absolutely naked. They subsist entirely on meat, milk, and blood, and in particular may not smoke or touch intoxicants. They do not live with the married people, but in separate kraals with the immature unmarried girls, with whom they are allowed to cohabit freely. Tradition* (see p. xxvi) ascribes this practice to the fear that if girls were kept away from the society of their own warriors, they would be dangerous to subject by the enemy; but the remedy has been worse than the danger it was to avert. The direct physical evil is considerable, and is partly responsible for the diminishing stoutness of the race. Besides this, female morality after such a girlhood was naturally low, even when the Masai kept to themselves. Now that they have come into contact with civilization, prostitution and venereal disease have become deplorably frequent. About the age of twenty-seven or thirty, or sometimes when raiding is forbidden somewhat earlier, a warrior marries and settles down. If he

* It is said that among the Nandi, Suk, and Turkana there are similar customs of the boys.

1: Hollis C-5 (ca. 1896-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

we have here primitive and undeveloped religious sentiment where the personality of the deity is hardly separated from striking natural phenomena, or remnants of some old cultus of the heavenly bodies, mountains, and tribal deities preserved in a hazy way by a military race which had not paid much attention to religion.

The Masai believe that ordinary persons die like cattle, and they throw away their corpses to be eaten by hyenas*, in the revoltingly unceremonious way common to many East African tribes. Medicine men, however, and influential people are buried, and their souls are said to pass into snakes, which are respected in consequence. Many tribes on the Nile also reverence snakes. It is noticeable that death and misfortune are not attributed to witchcraft. The Laibon is not the same as the Witch Doctor of the Bantu tribes, and it is no part of his duties to detect witches.

As the Masai men will practically do nothing but fight or tend cattle, they are naturally dependent on others for all articles, including their arms, which cannot be manufactured by women. There is among them a special tribe of smiths, called Il-Kunono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors and not allowed to marry Masai women. A somewhat similar tribe are the Dorobo or hunters.

It would appear that the military organization, the aversion to hunting, to eating game or vegetable food, and to engaging in agriculture or any productive art are peculiarities specially developed by the Masai, though some of them have been imitated by other tribes. Another peculiarity is the shape of their houses—long low buildings constructed of poles, grass, and mud, and divided into rooms by partitions. Their other customs, however, seem to tally with those of the Lumbwa, Nandi, and Dinka, so far as differences of customs and companies permit. Remarkable points of agreement are the nudity of the men, the shaven heads of the women, extraction of the middle tooth of the lower jaw, eating in a standing position on one leg, drinking the blood from living animals, and spitting as a sign of affection or benediction.

Linguistic evidence points the same way, though ampler and clearer information about the languages of the Nile is desirable for purposes of comparison. It is no want of respect to the labours of Sir H. Johnston and others to say that the researches of Mr. Hollis have for the first time

* It has been suggested that this practice may be due to a desire not to contaminate the earth by burial, but Mr. Hollis could find no trace of this idea, although he carefully inquired.

I: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

539 One day some of the old man's enemies came to the cave, and said to the children: "Open the door, children." But as the children refused, they decided to wait until the sun should set to see if the owner arrived.

The old man returned in the evening, and sang the usual song, whereupon the door was opened.

The enemies then elected to sleep where they were, and to go the next evening to sing the same song, and to kill[ing] the children. So the next evening they went to the cave and sang:

"It is now dark, but not yet home,
My children of the home,
Ho, my little one, let me in,
Open the door to me."

As the voice, however, did not resemble their father's, the children refused to open the door.

The men then returned to their own country and consulted a medicine-man. They told him they wanted to make their voice resemble an old man's in order that they could kill[ing] some children they had seen in the forest.

The medicine-man told them to go back to where the children were, and to eat nothing on the road.

But before they reached the cave, they had eaten a lizard and an ant* which they found, thinking that these small things would not matter. On their arrival they sang the song, but the children did not recognise their father's voice, and refused to open the door. The enemies then returned to the medicine-man's kraal, and, on being asked what they had eaten on the road, replied: "A lizard and an ant."

They were told to go again to the cave, and to pick up nothing whatever on the way, not even a small ant.

They did as they were told, and when they reached the cave they sang the song. The children, thinking it was their father, opened the door, whereupon the men entered and carried them off to their kraal.

In the evening the old man returned to the cave, and sang, but as

* Ex. Masai ever swallow ants or insects. All the Wakita tribes, however, are very fond of white ants (Johnston, The Uganda Protectorate, p. 776), whilst the Bongo and Kyam-Kyam, visited by Schweinfurth, "endure no game excepting that creeps and crawls," and eat caterpillars, worms, snakes, and crocodiles (The Heart of Africa, vol. i, pp. 39 and 101).

#531 No. 85. Isoiye — ooneiye — Ol-le'e-gipiko
You-have-got — which-he-got — The-eat Ile-gipiko
le'enkgani.
in-the-deserted-kraal.

You have got what the son of Ile-gipiko got in the deserted kraal, i.e. you are in a fix.

[The story told of the son of Ile-gipiko is as follows. One day he was eating meat in the slaughter-house when the place was suddenly attacked by the enemy. He managed to escape with his life and meat, but without his weapons, and he fled, hotly pursued by the enemy. He outstripped them, however, and after running some distance, entered a deserted kraal where he proposed to hide. But he soon discovered that he was not the only occupant, and a few grateful seconds sufficed to bring him to a realisation of the fact that he had entered the kraal of a lion. Thinking it more prudent under the circumstances to leave the deserted kraal, the son of Ile-gipiko turned round to continue his flight, when he was horrified to see an enormous serpent coiled round the post of the gate, which was the only exit, darting out its head and tongue in his direction. In the distance too he could see the enemy rapidly approaching his hiding-place. It is not related how the son of Ile-gipiko escaped from the dilemma in which he found himself.]

No. 86. Iro — Egoo — enee — Kenyok.
You-are — clever (or sharp) — like — Kenyok.

You are as clever as Kenyok.

[Kenyok's biography was briefly sketched in the story entitled 'Lemeek le-Kenyok en Monyo-Kenyok. The Masai are fond of referring to him whenever anything 'slim' or of a cunning or clever nature has been performed. The constructor of the Uganda Railway, for instance, has been referred to as being on a par with him.]

No. 87. Iro — ilpiloi — enee — el-dia — le'enkgoko — en'i-nerowa.
You-are — proud — like-the-dog — el-the-kgoni — el-the-warriors.

[The dogs that live in the warriors' kraals have a much happier existence than those that act as scavengers in the other kraals. Owing to the warriors' food consisting entirely of meat and milk, many bones and scraps are thrown to the dogs.]

No. 88. Inolon, ingishgishe, — enii — el-lae, — enii
You are, poor-man, — it-is-there — the-man, — and-it-is-there
o-kgoo-tyani, — enii — o-kgoo-tyani, — enii — o-kgoo-tyani
the-male, — and-it-is-there — the-woman, — and-it-is-there — the-female.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Plate XI

Masai drawing blood from an ox by shooting a blunted arrow into one of the superficial veins of the neck.

Rush duel between two Masai.

[Facing p. 257]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

524
539

Reply. E-or.
The-bare-spot.

What escapes a prairie fire?
A bare spot on which no grass grows.

No. 16. Naiperipera ti-shori en-gima.
Enigma. Which-rolls-from-side-to-side under the-fire.

Reply. E-miyur naya 'ag-enyuk.
The-omental-fat which-hurt the-eyes.

What meat rolls about as if in agony when it is being cooked?
Fat, for its eyes (bubbles) hurt it.

No. 17. Namununa te-'rust.
Enigma. Which-has-folded-itself in-the-hut.

Reply. El-lashei natalolutuo 'l-enyuk.
The-louse which-they-have-uncovered the-boys.

What is the thing which hides itself in its bed?
The louse which the boys uncover.

[Ut pulex in rugis cutis se celat, sic puella in lecto iuvene aggreum.]

No. 18. Namununa te-'sundai.
Enigma. Which-folds-itself in-the-wall.

Reply. Eng-apyani natala e-figurure.
The-widow who-missed the-shooting (*or* cupping).

What hides itself against the wall of the hut?
The widow who was not present when blood was extracted from an ox.

[The Masai drink the hot frothing blood direct from the live cattle. After tying a leather ligature tightly round an animal's throat, an arrow is shot into one of the superficial veins of the neck. When the arrow is pulled out, the blood gushes forth, and is collected in gourds. The blood is drunk greedily by all present, but who will give any to the widow?] [342]

No. 19. Nyeinna en-dŏki nashal natii
Enigma. This-here the-thing which-is-clammy which-is-there

eng-aji inyi, nimidolita.
the-hut your, and-you-are-not-seeing-it.

Reply. Ol-oiriiri.
The-lizard.

What is the clammy thing which is always in your hut and which you don't notice? The lizard.

524 No. 20. Nyolio, nyolio.
Enigma. That-there, this-here.
539 Reply. Ol-eyiki le-kolio.
The-drop of-milk.

That there is the drop of milk at the bottom of the gourd; this here is the drop when the gourd has been tipped up into the mouth.

[Note the play on the words nyolio and kolio.]

No. 21. Oyiáki kyeio nainanga,
Enigma. Poor the-mother who-gives-blood.

Reply. E-nolo nakgerishúnaki, nolua
The-gourd which-we-shut-for, and-it-will-mix

o-ereye.
the-blood.

Why is the mother weak?
Because they did not catch the blood in the gourd.

No. 22. Sambarumburi nanishwa.
Enigma. Butterfly resembleness.

Reply. Ol-kila loo'ntomíani.
The-garment of-the-beads.

What resembles a butterfly?
A garment with beads worked on it.

554 [It is only the'best dressed-girls who wear skins ornamented with
301 beads, and when they move about from one hut to another, they are supposed to resemble butterflies.]

No. 23. Tamanai te-ldya-matwa
Enigma. Go-by-a-roundabout-route round-that-part

o-l-doinyo, pe kitumi
of-the-mountain, and we-get (*or* meet)-one-another

ede 'ng-aik.
they-are-blood-red the-hands.

Reply. E-lama.
The-fruit-of-a-blood-red-colour.

What will your hands be like if we meet after you have gone round that part of the mountain? The lama fruit.

962 [This is a common wild fruit (*Kinensia americana*, L.) of which the Masai are very fond. It stains everything a blood-red colour.]

1: Hollis C-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ol-chiki.

Kiji ee-ibo oo-l-Masaai pus kitle tuk ol-mirmik, oo ŋgorŋok, oo l-eŋuk, oo l-doiyo.

Ene l-oonos ake aoto l-oodigi o-aare aapere aapuŋ: oo l-o-giyio-oodigi aapere ŋg-ulgire aook kulle, kake aatoni l-o-pattis aare ake oodigidoo.

Piki pe etum ol-mirmik oo ŋgorŋok oo l-eŋuk ainoo l-o-gir, ainoo. Ainoo oo-gitoŋ loo ak aparo, aroki ainoo ol-aare ai-aaroni, aroki ainoo ol-tware.

Kiyio l-mirmik loo-l-Masaai aiyuŋ in-gitoo aayo puaa, aaata aap-ainé aatuduo: oo ol-inigani aapere in-giri aiyo ol-Tortilosi.

Too aisho o-ŋgorŋokiai, aiyuŋgi ol-kiteŋ aishoriaki o-ilelo.

Too aaaaayo o-ŋgorŋokiai, aaaishoni l-o-dolki aapati. Too aiyio l-o-giri, aaishoni l-oik aroki l-o-giri taaati: too aishoni kulle, aapiki aap-aro.

Kiyio ol l-Masaai o-aarge. Iguo in-gitoo too-l-o-gitoda, inigio too-l-ŋgorota. Oro pe in-gitoŋ, aaiwata too-l-pukuta. Mook kulikua arok, aatii l-eŋuk kulle.

Food.

Amongst the Masai the principal food of the old men, the women, and the children is milk. 342.

The warriors alone drive bullocks into the forest, and slaughter them there: at other times they go to the married people's kraals and drink milk, but they never remain for two months together without slaughtering.

Whenever the old men, the women, and the boys are able to do so, they likewise eat meat. They also eat an ox if it dies a natural death[1], or if it is bitten by a snake, or if a beast of prey has killed it.

The Masai elders, however, do not slaughter their cattle without good reason, and a man who is very fond of meat is called a Dorobo. [14]

Whenever a woman gives birth to a child, a bullock is slaughtered, and she is given the fat. [14]

A pregnant woman is not given good food. When she wants meat, she is given bones or lean scraps; and when she wants milk, water is mixed with it. [14]

The Masai are also very fond of blood. They tie a fillet ligature round the neck of a beast and pierce a vein with an arrow, the shaft of which has been blocked. When the blood gushes forth, they catch it [15]

[1] The Hilluk and other Nilotic tribes also eat cattle which have died a natural death (Grant, Home Tours in the Sudan, p. 92, &c.). [11] [13]

Ore 'e-gulye-ilkilio ealepai.

Enyasi i-nolirnak ee 'ngerityak el-kwaloo ainakerlaki e-nolasi o el-kwaloo loo-'l-mooroo. Kaki 'l-nook loo-'e-gumaki el-kwaloo ainkilgo, enji en-gimagi. Kaki el kulikoo nook loo-'l-nottio.

Ilok el 'l-mooroo, kake natok gilkio. Enyasi ainje 'l-eyuk nooki 'e-kulye el-kwaloo, nooloh; ainei ake.

Ilotuaki-i-Maasai el-kwaloo, aare nenyilio nanioore; kake ainyuligo loo-'l-nook, ainanyo ang'oroo oo 'e-dore kumoi.

Ilaeninki 'l-Maasai 'l-nook le-gilaio enyoni, 'e-gilaio ainyio ake oo nooseio kulia, oo nalio 'l-nolo, ainje ake enainki 'l-nook, oo 'e-dore nolirnak oo 'e-dumoi.

Kiok el 'l-nolirnak le-nikki, nelinyuligo 'l-mooroo e en-jai loo-'l-nook.

Ki-gure ake nalirno oo-nialo najoo. Kiki oo-kiki nalirno il-nolirnak le-'e-nialo najoo il-ilangure ake.

In gourds. Some drink it pure; others mix it with milk[1].

There are a few other things which the Maasai eat.

Some old men and women chew tobacco mixed with salt and Guinea grass, whilst others sniff ground tobacco up their nostrils: this latter is called snuff. Others again smoke pipes.

Those of the warriors who like it also take snuff. The boys and girls, however, neither take snuff nor chew tobacco[2].

The Maasai do not grow tobacco themselves, for they do not know how to dig. They buy it from strangers, exchanging it for butter and hide goats.

The Maasai do not sell goat-milk to the strangers; they only give them barren cows, or those which have no milk, or which do not save for their calves. These and old or lame goats and sheep are the only animals they part with.

The old men drink honey-wine, and they purchase from the strangers two kinds of beer, called Ol-murra and Enjai.

It is only the children who like wild honey: old men eat the comb full of grubs[3].

[191] [1] This custom is also common among the Suri (Hamilton, Abbiamongo, p. 190).

[2] In olden days it was the privilege of rich old men and their chief wives only to take tobacco, which was called ol-dawai loo'ng-enyuk, the spermaceti-tree.

[3] The Maasai obtain their honey by following the Cuculus indicator bird.'

1: Mollie C-9 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Ilayoe ol 'e-gwan 'l-Ngomi-puk oolidig, olowe ol 'l-ndigwanik kitook, kake nowe oolidig.

Enaiowe il-Masai kulyo-nkitia ego, ekwe nete 'e-gidon, kake elowelie tooto 'e-dukii gidon en'l-mook, enaa 'l-gook, o el-molelit, en 'l-merrikie, en 'e-gulye-dukii e'e-gong, enee nowte 'e-gidon kumok enaa ego.

Nkii en-dikii nanolowe, e-nolowe ake. Enaiowe il-nolowgi, en 'elogie', en 'e-gisi en'l-olodigis.

Il-oloduigis.

Ilenye 'l-Masaai 'l-oloduigis ego ekwe nete 'e-gidon gidon; kake ekwe kuldkwe alowe tooto 'l-oloduigis enaa 'l-Dorobo, enee enanolete 'e-gidon.

Ten ker il-eyuk il-ilimoo, ene 'l-ala ake alimoni, nagwai nanio nolonyokii 'e-gidon.

Ken, ten ker 'l-nolkwani, ene el-oloisi alimoni, if' elenyo 'l-enona il-lolgei, nolkani ol 'nolwanak, if' elai 'e-gidolgidie nolodolgyuki 'nanlon. Kuloo ol 'l-ollonak le-gidolgidie nanjika 'nolo le 'l-ollon.

Children are very fond of various kinds of fruit, which are also eaten by the old people, but the latter do not care for them very much.

Formerly the Masai, when they had plenty of cattle, ate no other kind of food, but nowadays they often have to eat amongst food, such as maize, rice, bananas, and cassada, for they no longer own the vast herds which they formerly possessed*.

They, however, do not eat everything. They eat neither birds, nor fish, nor the flesh of wild animals.

Wild animals.

The Masai eat the flesh of no wild animals when in other days they all had cattle; but some of those who have lost all their cattle are now beginning to eat rhinos, like the Dorobo.

If Masai boys kill elephants, they only take the tusks, which they exchange for cattle.

When buffaloes are killed, the hide and the horns are kept. From the former the warriors make their shields, and from the latter mortars are cut in which medicine are ground. The medicine-men also use the horns to put stones in for their prophecies.

* It was recently estimated that the Masai in the Naivasha Province own fifteen head of cattle and eighteen goats and sheep. Those living in the Uganda Province and in German East Africa are, however, much poorer, most of their cattle having died of rinderpest some years ago.

* The northern Masai sometimes use a shilling (pl. shillingi) for a fish. The southern invariably use a shilling (pl. shillingi).

1: Hollis C-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

§24 Ildith enisenyoki 'ag-eyik:

1. Ol-masera.
2. Ol-darpoi.
3. Ol-dipoi.
4. Ol-sapuk.
5. Ol-dapa.
6. Ol-sidimi.
7. Ol-merishale.

The trees from which rope is made:

1. *Adenocrania digitata*, L.
2. *Kigelia aphrissa*, Bth.[1]
3. *Sansevieria cylindrica*, Baj.
4. *Acacia Stuhlmanni*, Taub.
5. *Acacia Hockeri*, Harms.
6. *Acacia robusta*, Burch.
7. *Rhus Kraussi*, J. F. Gmel.

Ol-dimi enisenyo 'l-mamma 'ag-eyik ameketye 'l-seighau:

The tree from which the warriors obtain the cord for binding their plaits with:

O-ntati.

Ficus, near *F. dryepes*, Miq.

§25 One ai tau ainle ol-tuiguni ol-likau, pe alaikî an-dirio, naipei ol-likau matie mentaki, ainaikî ang-eyik o'-ntati, eneik 'a-gwi-ele ainitoa ne 'mamma ologwan.

If one man carves another, and the carver takes effect, the man who has been carved calls the other and asks him to spit on him and to tie on his arm a strip of cord made from this fig-tree. The cord is first of all dipped in hot milk and then four heads are threaded on it.

§26 Ildith enisenyo 'l-eibonok 'mashom:

The trees used by the medicine-men in making their medicines:

1. Ol-sirian o'-l-turukwai.

1. The heart-wood of *Juniperus procera*, Hochst.

2. 'Ilg-alelîak ne 'a-dana o'-l-mukongoro.

2. The roots and stalks of *Leonotis* sp.

3. O-mâi. Ninye ol-dimi aitai tau'-l-Masasa; eata 'mashom enye-nanji Ol-sikira, enitau 'l-eibonok.

3. *Cordia ovalis*, R. Br. This tree is thought much of by the Masai, and a charm made from it, which the medicine-men use, is called Ol-sikira.

It has, too, an edible fruit, called The berries of the Cordia, which the children are fond of.

Eata ol 'l-dgunaiyok enisenyo ka-gwa ang-eyik 'Il-gulaio o'-lmâi.

4. 'Ilg-alelîak o'-l-kiage.

4. The bark of *Combretum aivpata*, Brenge.

5. 'Il-dana o'-l-mumbai.

5. The roots of *Capparis tomentosa*, Engl.

[1] Or *Kigelia pinnata*, DC.

2: Bernardi B, M-4 (no date) 1959 FL12 Mansi FL12

[illegible] sion to the exclusion of other classes above them. Their status is that of trainees in the case of junior initiates, and of full warriors in the case of senior initiates. Although it is not incorrect to state that they are in a condition of *corruptio* it is wrong to say that military activity is solely their privilege.

[illegible] Residential segregation is generally connected with the military activity of the initiates. Krieger states that the *mongai* were originally situated in the strategic positions of the country.[illegible]

[illegible] But there are other points to show that this segregation was not intended only for military purposes. Thus the initiates are not allowed to form their own family until they are elders. They are also forbidden to eat meat "*sana by woman*", and because their mothers and girls reside with them in their village, the initiates hold their meat festivals on their own in a secluded place. Similarly, they are not allowed to have milk unless they are in groups of two or three at least.[illegible]

It is difficult to see any relationship between these restrictions and the initiates' military activity. It seems evident that members of the age-units are still considered not sufficiently qualified to deal with cattle, and matters connected with them such as meat and milk, with complete freedom. Apparently, they do not have the [illegible] full possession of any cattle; the share of their mother's cattle to which they have right remains the property of their fathers' until [illegible] they get married. And to the father goes the best part of the booty [illegible] which they take from a raid.[illegible] Since cattle are the primary source of wealth and food, we must conclude that the initiates are still in a state of dependence on their fathers socially and economically.

This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that an analogous dependence holds true of their political activity. On this they depend entirely on their *pirse*-elders.[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] The statement is endorsed by Krieg's description l. c., p. 91. He says that the *mongai* were always built too from any kind of *sana*, "*if possible on a plateau overlooking a good water supply*", and "*commanding many miles of plain*".

[illegible] The initiates have a right to ask everybody for milk which cannot be refused. Generally they address themselves to their *pirse*-elders.

[illegible] Moreau, l. c., p. 80: "*Das Verlangt der zu Kriegers heranwachsende Sohne bereits in erhohtem Mab und dient in der Hauptsache zur Ehrfurcht Vatern*".

[illegible] Other restrictions such as the prohibition against smoking and drinking beer, both privileges of the elders, confirm the general status of inferiority of the initiates with relation to the elders.

J. Bernardi E. 96-4 (no date) 1995 FL12 Mount FL12

time. Then the dance is resumed until night. At this stage the initiate is allowed to have intercourse with his wife.

The next morning the initiate, as soon as he rises, again drinks some milk. Then he is smeared all over with a special mixture by two of the elders, who also present him with an olive and a bamboo stick. A procession is then formed from inside the hut, where these ceremonies have been accomplished, to the cattle kraal. Here the elders choose four or eight [it must be four or eight] head of the initiate's cattle, and he kills each one of them with his olive stick.

The initiate must now remain inside for five days. On the fourth day his mother pours liquid, half milk and half water, on his head, and then the mother shaves him.[1] The ceremony is now complete.

Peristiany,[2] makes reference to a similar ceremony "by which a novice is permitted to drink the milk from his wife's cattle".[3] He then remarks that "this does not, however, permit him (the initiate) to drink milk by himself; this must always be done with his age-mates until such time as all go through the *ngolwo* ceremony". This indicates that "that *ngolwo* of milk" must also be considered as an individual anticipation of the status officially recognized only at the corporate ceremony.

We do not possess any detailed description of "the *ngolwo* of meat". We are informed by Fox,[4] that the ceremony takes place, and he records it as "the second *el-ngolwo* ceremony, called the *Ol-ngolwo* of meat". After such ceremony the initiate may eat meat freely, and, if he chooses, eat meat which has been touched by a woman.

The *ngolwo* proper is the closing ceremony which finally initiates the age class. It is celebrated by the Kisongo, but unacknowledged and unpractised throughout Masailand.[5] The ceremony is briefly described by Merker,[6] as follows: "when all the members

[1] These formalities may be performed either by the candidates' mother or his first wife, provided the latter had not conceived while he was still uncircumcised, or by the two women together.

[2] Peristiany, *l. c.*, p. 30.

[3] The expression "his wife's cattle" seems inaccurate and misleading. Probably it refers to the initiate's cattle tended by his wife.

[4] Fox, *l. c.*, pp. 482 s.

[5] Peristiany, *l. c.*, p. 30, states that the ceremony "is traditionally held at oldonyo lo 'l ngerash (the hill of the Elders), Upper Sanyusi, Mashi District.

[6] Merker, *l. c.*, p. 72.

6:Thomson ≤-3 (1883-1884)2887
F1.12 Mount F1.12

ing to his father to learn something about his origin, and this I believe is—among other stories—what he was told. The priest ancestor of the Masai was one Kidinet, who lived at Donyo Egiet (Mount Kenia), was hairy, and had a tail. Filled with the spirit of exploration, he left his home and wandered north. The people of the country, seeing him drinking something in a calabash, were so struck with admiration at the wonderful performance that they brought his women as a present. By them he had children, who, strangely enough, were not hairy, and had no tails, and these were the progenitors of the Masai. As Moses had not heard anything of the theories which were convulsing scientific Europe and America, he remained ignorant of the fact that he had struck upon an interesting legend which the savants of civilized society would have given their hearts to verify.

Meanwhile Moses practised with the spear, and killed innumerable imaginary enemies. He listened intently with beating heart to the stories of daring battle-raids and sanguinary fights, but as yet he could only dye his spear in the blood of an antelope, or, it might be, of a buffalo. His food still continued to be that of a non-fighter, namely, curdled milk, maize, or millet, and meat. But vegetable pasto was the meat of women and children, and he loathed it, though he ate it.

As he approached the age of fourteen he began to develop a truculent and ferocious expression, instead of making himself sick in the attempt to smoke a cigar, or examining his upper lip in the glass, as a lad of proper spirit in England would have done at the same age. It is quite laughable to think of Moses trying to look dangerous, pursing his brow, and generally cultivating the fierceish. And really, I am told he was the admiration and the envy of all the Lkm (boys) of the district, and quite won the hearts of the girls.

At last it was agreed that Moses had become a man, and was fit to be a warrior. A certain rite, better known in Africa than in Europe, was performed; and Moses was no longer a boy, he was an El-moran—a warrior. His father, who was wealthy, resolved to rig him out in the height of military fashion. For this purpose they journeyed to a neighbouring settlement of Ambwibbo—a clan who are despised heartily by their distant relatives, the aristocratic Masai, on account of their ignoble mode of gaining a livelihood by the chase. After making the Ambwibbo quake in their

6:Thomson q.-3 (1883-1884)1887
F.L.S. Mount F.L.S.

arm. A beaded belt confines it round the waist, leaving only one limb partly exposed. Frequently it is slipped off the shoulder, and depends entirely from the waist, leaving the breast exposed. Their ornaments are of a very remarkable nature. Round the legs from the ankles to the knees are [201] [202] caught wire is coiled closely in spiral fashion. So awkward is this ornament that the wearer cannot walk properly, she cannot sit down or rise up like any other human being, and she cannot run. Round the arms she has wire similarly coiled both above and below the elbow. Round the neck more iron wire is coiled—in this case, however, horizontally—till the head seems to sit on an inverted iron salver. When the leg-ornaments are once on they must remain till finally taken off, as it requires many days of painful work to fit them into their places. They chafe the ankles excessively, and evidently give much pain. As they are put on when very young, the calf is not allowed to develop, and the consequence is, that when grown up the legs remain of a uniform thickness from ankle to knee—more attenuated ankle, in fact. The weight of this armour varies according to the wealth of the parties, up to thirty pounds. Besides the iron wire, great quantities of beads and iron chains are disposed in various ways round the neck.

Such, then, were the people that now greeted Mamo, who, [203] being a novice, had to suffer a great deal of chaff from both sexes. He was, however, soon initiated into the mysteries [204] of a warrior kraal, and had seen a bit of life. The strictest diet imaginable was the rule. He had to be content with absolutely nothing but meat and milk. Tobacco or snuff, beer or spirits, vegetable food of all kinds, even the flesh of all animals except cattle, sheep, and goats, were alike eschewed. To eat any of these articles was to be degraded [217] —to lose caste; to be offered them was to be insulted in the deepest manner. As if these rules were not strict enough, he must needs not be seen eating meat in the kraal, neither must he take it along with milk. So many days were devoted entirely to the drinking of raw milk, and then, when carnivorous longings came over him, he had to retire with a bullock to a lonely place in the forest, accompanied by some of his comrades, and a Dikko to act as cook. Having scrupulously made certain that there was no trace of milk left on [215] their stomachs by partaking of an extremely powerful purgative, they killed the bullock either with a blow from a [216] rungu or by stabbing it in the back of the neck. They then

G. Thomson fl. [illegible]1883-1884]1887
F'LL2 Mossi F'LL2

opened a vein and drank the blood fresh from the animal. The proceeding of our voracious young friends was a wise though repulsive one, as the blood thus drunk provided the salts so necessary to the human economy; for the Masai do not partake of any salt in the common form. This sanguinary draught concluded, they proceeded to gorge themselves on the flesh, eating from morning till night—and keeping their teeth steadily at work. The half-dozen men were quite able to dispose of the entire animal in a few days, and then they returned to the kraal to recruit the milk diet.

If they lived to sanctify life in the matter of food, they could not be said to do so in other ways. Life in the warriors' kraal, as may easily be conceived, was prosaic to a considerable degree. They may, indeed, be described as a colony of free livers. Curiously enough the "sweetheart" system was largely in vogue, though no one confined his or her attentions to one only. Each girl, in fact, had several sweethearts, and, what is still stranger, this seemed to give rise to no jealousies. The most perfect equality prevailed between the Dikis and Ki-nonos, and in their savage circumstances it was really pleasant to see how common it was for a young girl to wander about the camp with her arm round the waist of a stalwart warrior.

Till a war-cry was planned, Moran, our interesting prodigal, found he had nothing to do but make acquaintances and amuse himself with the girls. His cattle were looked after by some poor menials, and though the kraal was stationed near a dangerous neighbour, yet no fighting took place. It was, however, a rule in the warrior kraals that no leave for pleasuring was allowed, hence the utmost vigilance had to be exercised. Moran thus in the course of his duty had frequently to act as watch. At other times he practised various military evolutions, and he kept up his muscle by the peculiar mode of dancing described in the Tavota chapter. Unlike negro tribes, they led what might be called a serious life. They had no rollicking fun, no moonlight dancing, no lively songs, no thundering drums. No musical instrument whatsoever enlivened the Masai life, and their songs were entirely confined to such occasions as the return home from a successful raid, or the invocation of the deity. As soon as darkness fell upon the land the guard was appointed, the cattle milked, and everything hushed up in silence.

Shortly after joining the kraal, Moran was called upon to record his vote in the election of a *Laiyon* and a *Laiguenani*.

4: Thomson K-3 (1983-1984)087
F122 Mac.1 F122

beginning bald or developing grey hairs, but that he could not take the regulation dose of purgative as formerly. From this, coupled with the fact that he could not take such libations with his stomach, he gathered that he was not quite as strong as formerly. We can imagine how he would cross his back and look foolish on discovering this unpalatable truth. There was nothing for it but to marry, and become a staid and respectable member of society. He had sown his wild oats.

Casting about, he fixed upon a damsel after his heart. The preliminaries having been arranged—the number of bullocks to be paid, &c.—she was mulled to him. Then an operation was performed on the damsel. Recovered from its effects, she had to wait till the calving season, as abundance of milk is an indispensable requisite in the honeymoon. Meanwhile, she allowed her hair to grow till it assumed the appearance of an old shoe-brush clotted up with blacking. Round the head she wore a band of cowries from which depended a number of strings, forming in fact the bridal veil. At last the happy day arrived, and the final seal was put upon the marriage by both parties dispensing of their chain earrings, and substituting a double disc of copper wire arranged spirally. The lady also shaved her head, laid aside the garment of the Ollo, and clothed herself with two skins, one suspended from the waist the other from the shoulder. Strangest of all, however, and strikingly indicative of the fact that he had exchanged the spear for the distaff, Moses had actually to wear the garment of a Ollo for one month. Just imagine what fun it would be in this staid and dignified country of ours, if a young man had to spend his honeymoon in a cast-off suit of his wife's custom clothes. What our friend's feelings were in this guise, I do not know, and this voracious chronicle does not admit of conjecture.

And now Moses's sole idea was to rear a brood of young cattle-lifters, and so that he got them, he was not very particular as to the manner of it. He was not jealous, asked no awkward questions, and employed no spies. If a friend should visit him, he was hospitable in a degree not consistent with a high level of morality. We shall here prudently follow his example of non-inquisitiveness; for we might find that the domestic affairs of our friend's household will not bear a too curious scrutiny.

He was now wholly a changed being—as indeed who is not when he gets married! His strict rules of diet were

4:Thomson K.-J (1883-1884)887
F112 Mossi F112

chuckwood, and, though meat and milk were still the main items of his eating, he could now vary it with vegetable food, obtained by his wife from neighbouring agricultural tribes. Luxuries, also, he might now indulge in. He sported a fancy mouthpiece and tobacco-box of ivory or ebonwood here, and delighted to say up his sentences as he handed it to a friend. He chewed tobacco (mixed always with natron), though he never smoked. Then, as often as convenient, he liked to foregather with his friends, and have a jolly carouse over beer or mead.

It is pleasant to know that with this change in his mode of life there was a corresponding elevation (very rough for the latter) in his views of things. He delighted to talk with the traders whom before he had gloried in killing or enslaving, and would in token of good-will cordially exchange the contents of his by spitting upon them and being spat upon. In his conversation he showed an intelligence far superior to any specimen of the Bantu tribes. He had no superstitions, and was communicative about his affairs and beliefs. He would even at times exercise a friendly guardianship of passing travellers, and was able to ward off many a disaster by judicious warning. He was not stinted in his presents, and generally gave far more than he got. He has been known even to protect stinged persons, and lead sick men left behind.

The softening down of his ferocity exerted upon his face. The habitual scowl gradually died away, and was replaced by a more pleasing and genial expression. His thoughts turned more to the strange mystery of life. He, alas! had little that was cheering to look forward to. He believed in the existence of a Supreme Being, and yet had not the faintest conception of an after-life. Unlike the men of the Bantu races, he did not believe in ghosts or spirits. He had no theory of dreams, and did not imagine like the negro that when he dreamed he was really experiencing all that was passing through his brain, and that his soul or spirit was actually knocking around somewhere, having a good time of it, unclogged by his body. Mossi believed nothing of that; indeed, whether he had any idea on the subject, I have not been able to determine. When the man died, he was finished utterly, except so far as he might go piecemeal to build up the body of a hyena, a vulture, or a marabout stork. The Mossi believe in annihilation. To bury a corpse would, they think, be to poison the soil: it must be thrown to the wild beasts without ceremony.

G. Thomson (C.) (1821-1894)287
F.L.S. Mount F.L.S.
Mr. Hawks

between the married and the unmarried people, very little work being expected of the latter, and the amusement system being preserved. They all, however, occupy the same village, and of course the young men cannot afford to live as much, though they always come in for the lion's share when any of it is going. When parties go off on war-raids, they also combine to set a bullock up, way of getting up their courage.

They lead upon the whole a very miserable life, ever threatened with destruction by the Masai, who have swept off several villages and all their cattle. The soil being the very richest loam, brought down from the mountains and spread over a comparatively level plain to the north of the lake, it is capable of producing anything; only the extreme dryness of the air and the very small annual rainfall, confined to a couple of months, keeps it sterile and barren. To ameliorate this unhappy condition of things the Wa-kwafi have developed a wonderfully ingenious system of irrigation by artificial canals of (for them) great magnitude. They construct dams across the deep channel of the Ozoro Ngiroko and thus raise the level of the water to that of the plain, and then, by an intricate network of channels, they spread the precious fluid over a large area, and raise their millet and maize. These products form almost their sole food, eked out by what they are able to kill in the chase and by fish from the river, though when meat is scarce they are not [illegible] of rats. Of these there were simply [illegible]. They swarmed everywhere, and nothing was too sacred for them. Need it be wondered if "oh in the silly night" were heart impressions lost and deep upon the wretched pests when I have been wakened up by my nose being bitten or the sanctity of my tea invaded. My books were devoured, and even the bullets in my cartridges were not too indigestible. Everything, indeed, had to be kept under iron or hung up under sheds as represented on page 312.

As in the case of the Wa-taveta, the Wa-kwafi are singularly honest and reliable, so much so that valuable goods and equally valuable food are left in their charge with the utmost confidence, and I have heard of no case of this being violated. To me, one of the most remarkable features in the character of the young women and girls was their absolute unconsciousness of fear in my presence, and the complete confidence they seemed to have in me. They indeed look

particular relation. The naming ceremony is as follows:—When the child was one [353]
about a small ram is chosen and killed by the women of the village and eaten by
them (and not by any men). The child is then given a name which is chosen by the
assembled women. It is usually named after some friend of the family either living
or deceased, and great care is taken that the person after whom the child is named
is (or was) good looking and of good character, as otherwise the child would grow up
ugly and of an evil nature. This is the name used by the family and by friends, but [351]
after initiation a boy is always called "Son of ——wa-mit-au," and not by his own
name (except by his family). After a man is married and has named sons of his
own he is called "Father of ——wa-mit-au."

Tooth Extraction.—As soon as a child of either sex has cut all its milk teeth the [304]
two central lower incisors are knocked out, and this operation is repeated when the
permanent teeth grow. There is no ceremony attended to this removal of the teeth, [315]
which is performed with a small, sharp two-edged knife. The reason given for this [315]
practice is, that in the case of any illness, if the patient keeps his mouth tightly closed, [316]
water and gruel can be poured in through the hole so formed.

Ear Piercing.—At the age of about 6 or 7, children of both sexes have holes pierced
in the cartilage round the upper part of the ear, and as soon as the boys start herding
cattle and the girls start drawing water they have the holes of the ears pierced. Both
are pierced in order to prepare them for carrying ornaments, and the holes are
stretched to the size which the individual requires by means of a gradual increase
in the size of the inserted stretching plug of rough wood.

Games.—All sorts of childish games are played by the children during their [324]
early days, but I could not obtain any details from my informants.

Clothing.—From a very early age children are given small bits of skin as clothing, [291]
and the boys have small aprons made for them.

Food.—The food of children is the same as that of grown-ups and is mentioned [343]
in milk, fat, and meat, as no crops are grown.

Part II.—Between.

Herding.—As soon as they are considered old enough (and this depends upon the [57]
number of other boys in the family available for this work), boys are sent to help
herd the sheep and cattle, and they continue to do so until they are old enough to
start preparing for initiation.

Sex Life.—Initiation is often delayed until some little time after puberty, and it [54]
is not considered in any way wrong for these boys to begin indulging sexually as soon [53]
as they like, provided that they observe certain restrictions. They may do as they [54]
like with the younger girls in the neighbouring villages, provided, of course, that they [54]
observe the law forbidding sexual relations with any member of their own sub-clan,

(38) L. G. S. Lumbwa —Some Notes on the Forest of Kenya Colony

[illegible] As only those candidates who belong to a given village may be circumcised on in that village, it is seldom that there is more than one circumcised at a time, but should there be two or three candidates belonging to a single village they would be circumcised together on the same day of the same time. There is no elaborate ceremonial accompanying the operation or preparatory to it. A boy will continue herding his cattle until the late afternoon of the day before that fixed for his circumcision. He is then invited back to the village and has his hair shaved off by his mother, and has new sandals and a new skin cloak given to him. This does not mean he spends all the time of four days together, and will be seen the following day during the operation. The actual operation takes place next day, either early in the morning or in the middle of the day. If it is in the morning, the candidate is kept in the yard until the ceremony is over, but if it is in the middle of the day the candidate must be brought into the yard and kept there during the ceremony, for it is absolutely essential that the candidate shall be in their enclosure during the whole of the ceremony. Sheep and goats are not admitted to this yard. The boy (or boys) who are to circumcise the candidate stand in front of his mother's hut wearing his new skin cloak and sandals, and the operator performs the operation with a special small knife without any elaborate ceremonial. The boy then retires to his hut to convalesce. A bit meat is killed for the patient, who is fed on meat boiled in fat and on ghee with his, " so that he may get well quickly ". After about five or six days the other boys in the district who have already been circumcised and have recovered, call for the boy, and he joins their band for the period of their seclusion.

[illegible] The Period.—The period of seclusion (attitude length of time, as a boy must remain in the novice stage from the time that he is circumcised until every other candidate has been circumcised too. Usually a period of about two years elapses between the time of the last existing ceremony and the time when the last candidate has been operated upon. Then the group undergoes the hair-shaving ceremony which marks their transfer from the novice stage to the warrior stage; thus, the last boy to be circumcised may only have a few weeks in the novice stage, while others may be about two years in that stage. During the seclusion, there are certain rules and regulations which must be observed by the novices. They wander about the country in bands armed with bows and bird-arrows visiting more especially those villages where they have their lunch candidates have just been circumcised, and collecting them in their groups. During the whole seclusion period the novices must not eat their fill at all, nor may they indulge in any form of sexual intercourse, nor may they go out alone, but only glide but on their bodies. They are required to shoot as many birds as they can, and to skin them and stuff them roughly with grass, and to throw to their hair as a decoration. Then and more skins are added to this head-dress as the weeks go by, until at length a boy has a complete wig of scalloped bird skins. Certain birds must on no account be so used, notably birds such as pigeons, doves, and

[illegible] L. S. B. Leakey — *Game Rules in the Masai of Kenya Colony*

[illegible] villages the shields are removed to allow cooking to take place with the owner's own cows. The main method of procuring cooking is used with cows, but to a much lesser extent. If a man has several good cows he keeps shields on a few of them at a time in order to use his cows in rotation.

[illegible] *Blood-letting* — Among the Masai, blood is a staple article of diet. It is either [illegible] but used fresh, or cooked with fats of fat and sweet into a "black pudding," or else mixed with fresh milk and allowed to curdle.

In order to obtain blood every sheep and every head of cattle is bled at intervals. Cattle are bled by one method and sheep by another. In the case of cattle, the animal is seized and held, and a thong is then tied round its neck until the vein at the side of the neck swells up under the pressure of the thong. The vein is then punctured by means of a special instrument which may be termed a "blood-letting arrow." The blood-letting arrow consists of a small stocky shaft into the end of which a small flat blade is inserted. This blade has a curved edge and is very sharp. This arrow is used with a special bow which is always small and usually very roughly made. The arrow is not shot from a distance, but *placed against* the swollen vein. The bow string is only pulled back very slightly and when released drives the arrow just far enough to open the vein. The blood is caught in a gourd and the animal released.

Sheep are bled by a different method; the animal is held and a small incision is made just above one eye and blood drawn off.

[illegible] *Meat-feasts* — Young men and old alike indulge in frequent meat-feasts, meat being a staple article of diet. No man may eat inside the villages, so meat-feasts take place either in special huts built at a little distance from the villages, or in a cave if there is one near by.

There are certain rules and regulations concerning meat-feasts, as follows :—

(1) No man may eat meat that has been touched by a woman.

(2) No Masai man may slaughter cattle himself. In every case a man of the Wandorobo tribe must be called in to kill the animal, and he must be rewarded by being given a part of a thong.

(3) The neck, stomach and some of the intestines are always given to the women, who may cook and eat them. The breast must be given to the man to whom the slaughtered animal belonged.

(4) During a meat-feast, some at least of the hunters must sleep in the hut or cave where the meat is, and it is usual for all to do so. If by any chance the fire should go right out in the course of the night, it would be considered a very serious matter indeed. In such a case no one inside the hut may go out by the normal entrance, but must break through the walls (in the case of a cave they must break through the brushwood screen which is invariably built across part of the entrance to the mouth of the cave), and all the meat that is left over must be [illegible] and left to the hyenas. The breaking of this rule is said to result invariably in the death of the miscreant.

warriors may have sexual relations with initiated women. This is regarded as being the first stage in a warrior becoming an elder.

The warriors have their heads shaved—usually by their mothers—at the close of the E-Unoto ceremony, but they allow the hair to grow again, and plait it into a pig-tail when long enough.

Milk Drinking by Warriors.—A warrior may not drink milk unless it is handed him by another of his age-group. They must therefore always go about in parties of two or more. The procedure on arrival at a village where they want some milk is as follows:—

The warriors enter the village and stand in the open space within the circle of the huts till one or more of the old men come to greet them. They ask for a hut of their age-group, or, failing that, a hut of an elder of their O-Piron. On being shown a hut to enter they go in and sit down on a bed or the stool, and wait till milk is handed to one of them (for description of hut see p. 468 ff.). He shakes up the milk, removes the cap of the gourd, and hands it to his companion, who drinks it. If only one gourd is brought they share it, handing it from one to the other. If a second gourd is brought the warrior to whom the first gourd was originally handed may open it and drink it himself provided that he has given the first gourd to his companion. Drinking after a drink of milk is a sign of repletion and is good manners, showing the guest's appreciation of the hospitality of his host.

O-Ki'ukor of Milk.—This ceremony is performed by each warrior individually. He is given milk by an elder in his mother's hut, and drinks it by himself. He shaves his head and does not grow a pig-tail again. Thereafter he may drink milk by himself. He usually marries very soon after this ceremony, and is no more regarded as a warrior after it. The ceremony usually takes place somedays a year or two after the E-Unoto owing to Government policy of reducing the period of warriorhood as much as possible. In the Purko, most of the Il-Sidimoi have already performed their milk O-Ki'ukor, although there is as yet no left hand age-group for their generation.

I have heard it said that in some tribes there is a ceremony of handing over warriorhood from one generation to a junior one. Among the Maasai there was no such ceremony. When the young warriors of a new generation became strong enough they fought and defeated the old ones, taking on the warriorhood by force.

Meat Feasts.—No man may eat meat which has been touched by an initiated woman until he has performed the second *O-Ki'ukor* ceremony, called the *O-Ki'ukor of meat*. After that he may eat meat which a woman has touched if he likes. The Il Merotoroi and Il Kitoip age-groups of the Purko were said to be going to have their meat *O-Ki'ukor* in June, 1930; but I left Africa before it was due, and therefore cannot describe the ceremony.

A man of the generation immediately older than the warriors must not be seen eating or drinking milk by a warrior until one of the warrior age has given him a bullet.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

It is lucky to see a fish eagle (*ol korpellia*) sitting on a tree if it is facing the observer. It is unlucky to see a single wild pig, but lucky if a number of pigs cross the path from left to right in front of the traveller.

There are several other superstitions, but they seem to be held in little, if any, more importance than most of our own, *e.g.* seeing the new moon through glass, encountering magpies, spitting when a hare crosses one's path, etc.

Spitting is a greeting and brings good luck. One is asked to spit on a new-born baby. I have sometimes been spat on in a similar way by very old men and women—a somewhat trying ordeal which had to be patiently endured. Moreover, a Masai may spit on his palm before shaking hands in order to give an exceptionally warm greeting. It is then etiquette to follow his example.

History.—The Masai have little historical tradition. Some of it is given in Hollis, pp. 266–273. They are said to have come from a place in the North called by them *Endigir* a hundred generations (of 15 years each) ago. The generation names from the present time, working backwards as far as they are remembered, are:—*Il Twati, Il Talala, 'L Aimer, Il Nyangusi, Il Twati, Il Kidotu, I Merishare, Il Tiegi, Il Salaash*, and *Il Meshopo*. Those before this have been forgotten. When they left Endigir there were no *Laibons*, so the elders arranged about the ceremonies. The warrior and age-group system was already in being, having been instituted by Naiteru Kop (*see* Hollis, p. 266). The customs of group marriage and of free love between the warriors and the girls were also in existence.

There were four tribes in Endigir—the Masai, the Dorobo, the Kikuyu and the Il Kunono (smiths). God gave the cattle to the Masai and the wild beasts to the Dorobo. He told the Kikuyu to go to the mountains and the place of many rivers and to eat grass. He gave iron to the smiths and provided them with stones to beat it with. These four tribes were all friends together.

Restrictions as to Food.—Besides those mentioned above as applying to warriors and junior elders, the following apply to all Masai:—

They must not eat the flesh of wild animals.

They must not drink milk soon after eating meat.

Women must not be seen eating meat or drinking milk by men of their husband's generation.

Months and Days.—The Masai divide the year into the following months:—

Ol Adoalo. Meaning unknown

Or'at = Grass in the hollows. (About February.)

O Ãnyi Oing'ok = When the bulls are tied up.

Ol o Doyoerie ol o Ingokwa = When the Pleiades are in the West.

Ol o Olepunyi Ingokwa = When the Pleiades are in the East.

Ol Guju Orok = The short black bristles. So called because it is the month of ceremonies, and therefore heads are shaved.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

are taken in another direction, which means that they drink only on alternate days, but at the same time graze over a larger area than if they went to water every day, thus helping to conserve the grazing. There are two types of kraal. The married men with their wives and children live in one type, and the warriors with their mothers, sisters, and girl lovers in another type. The main structural difference between the two types seems to be that the warriors' kraal has no fence, while the elders' kraal is surrounded by a thorn fence. The elders' kraal varies in size: it may contain from seven to several hundred huts, though very large examples (such as were seen by Teleki and von Höhnel) are probably uncommon; the average is probably about 20 to 50. The warriors' kraal may contain between 50 and 100. In the elders' kraal the huts are built round the inside of the fence, which is also the enclosure in which the livestock are housed at night. The number of gates in the fence depends upon the number and size of the families which live in it. Each family has exclusive rights over at least one gate, and a large family with many cattle has more than one. The kraal, *enk-ag*, thus approximates to a village, for several families live in it, and the gate, *kishomi*, has come to typify the family, the word being used with the article (*en-kishomi*) as a synonym for *ol-marei*, "the family." When a man sets up his home in a kraal, he puts his first wife in a hut on the right of his gate as one goes in, and the second wife on the left; the third, if he has one, goes on the right, and the fourth on the left, and so on, the huts being so arranged that each succeeding wife lives immediately to the right or left of her gate. The people on each side of the gate form two distinct groups, *in-taloishin*, the effect of which is felt most in matters of inheritance. (See below, p. 108.) The warriors' kraal or *e-manyata* is inhabited by all the members of one age-set in one district, who constitute a company, *sirit*, and the kraals are built in strategic positions. With the men live their mothers, and some young sisters who help their mothers, and if old enough become lovers of warriors. The mother, her warrior son, and younger children share a hut, all sleeping on separate beds; when the warrior wants to sleep with his lover he goes to another hut. The mother's husband may visit her at any time, and when he comes her hut must be given up to the pair. The inhabitants of a *manyata* vary considerably in number, ranging from 30 to several hundred.

Livestock

Cattle

Cattle, *in-kishu*, are the object on which the lives of the Masai are centred, and on which their whole existence depends. Their importance is both material and spiritual, and people who perform any kind of work other than tending cattle are despised by the Masai, whose attitude towards cattle is similar to that of the Nandi. The Masai believe that in the beginning God gave them all the cattle in the world, and therefore nobody else has a right to possess any. Cattle provide the Masai warrior with his food in the form of milk, blood, and meat, and they give him spiritual and mental satisfaction through their existence, though it would seem that there is less outward and ritual expression of the love of cattle than among some other East African tribes who combine pastoralism with agriculture. This, however, does not by any means indicate that the Masai are an agricultural people who have wholly given up agriculture and taken to pastoralism. Since the Masai, unlike the Nandi, kill large numbers of their cattle for eating, it was essential in the past for them to maintain the size of their herds by continual raiding, for the natural reproduction rate would not have been enough. On account of its high ritual value, milk may not be drunk on the same day that meat is eaten, nor may it be boiled; but it may be drunk mixed with blood. Grass also has a high ritual value, being the food of cattle, and is used as a sign of peace. In 1930 the average size of an elder's herd was officially estimated at about 75 head of cattle, 85 sheep and goats, and 18 donkeys; this was based on the estimate of 720,000 as the total number of cattle belonging to the Kenya Masai. In Tanganyika, it was found that the average number

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

latter is of little economic significance, except that it is the duty of the warriors to get cattle by raiding. In the division of work, the people mainly concerned are the uncircumcised boys, the girls, and the women. The boys do most of the herding, assisted by the elders. Women and girls milk and act as servants to the warriors. The girls do household work till they are old enough to become lovers of the warriors, when they do very little work. The greater part of the work thus falls on the older women, who besides doing or supervising the milking and other ordinary household tasks like fetching water and firewood, build the huts, load and drive the donkeys when moving, prepare skins for clothing, and trade with neighbouring tribes for food and other things. The warriors used to be occupied exclusively either with war or preparations for war, or with dancing, visiting, and making love. Their military activities have today been replaced by certain tasks connected with cattle, and by cattle-stealing and raids on neighbouring tribes. The senior elders are occupied with political matters, and some of them with the instruction and control of the initiates and younger warriors; they also help with the herding, and take part in trading with the neighbouring peoples.

The only specialists in the economic sphere are the smiths, *il-kunono*, sing. *ol-kunoni*, who live segregated from the rest of the Masai, and marry among themselves. They have a distinctly inferior status, and are despised by the Masai, who oil their hands before taking anything from a smith. At one time the smiths lived near deposits of iron ore, such as those in the Matapato river; but nowadays the availability of trade-iron has given them greater freedom of domicile. They make the iron-work used by the Masai, including spears, swords, and ornaments.[6]

Though according to Hollis a few Masai women made pottery, the Masai as a rule buy their pots from the Bantu.

Food

Except among the agricultural Masai, no cereal or vegetable food at all is grown, nor was it eaten in the old days by warriors, whose diet consisted of meat, milk, and blood, the latter providing the necessary salt. The animals eaten included their own cattle, buffalo, *ol-osowuan*, and eland, *o-airua*, which they considered to be related to cattle, and therefore fit to eat.[7] Warriors were not allowed to eat honey, to drink honey-wine, or to take tobacco, though some took snuff. Children and married people eat vegetable food, and the meat of cattle which die a natural death. Warriors when they want to eat meat, build a rough shelter called *ol-pul* in the bush where, accompanied by a boy to do the work, small groups feast upon the meat of an ox supplied by the father of one of their number. The elder who supplies the ox is given some of the meat, and this is one of the regular sources of meat for married people, for meat eating is the regular practice of warriors. Men and women do not eat together, and fish, fowls, eggs, and game other than buffalo and eland are not eaten by any Masai.

Trade

Since the Masai are not self-supporting, they have to trade with the Bantu agriculturists, *il-meek*, whom they despise, in order to get what they want. Their chief suppliers are the Kikuyu, Chaga, and Taveta; and for certain things, notably ivory and honey, the Dorobo. The media of exchange are cattle (old, barren, and otherwise unsatisfactory cows), old and thin goats and sheep, donkeys, butter, and hides. The principal goods bought are food (beans, millet, maize) and tobacco, which they get from the Bantu; the chief suppliers of meal are Indian traders, often Sikhs,

[6] Leakey says that the Masai buy their swords from the Kikuyu (*JRAI*, LX, p. 209); this may well be the case near the Kikuyu border, though it is perhaps a recent development.

[7] The Galla also consider the buffalo to be the equivalent of the ox. Bahrey, *Historia Gentis Galla*, Chap. XX, Guidi.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Agricultural Masai

In 1932 the Il-Tiamus numbered about 2,250 (3,423 according to the 1948 Census), and though they are of Masai stock, being descended from a Sambur section called Il-Doigio, they have admitted a variety of refugees including Kamasya, and become rather mixed. According to von Höhnel they had originally four villages at the south end of Lake Baringo, but two were deserted on account of Masai and Suk raids, and some of the inhabitants, having lost all their cattle, took refuge on Kokua Island in Lake Baringo. They are expert swimmers and possess canoes, though von Höhnel saw none in 1887. Their dwellings are round huts with rather high-pitched and somewhat convex thatched roofs, and walls of posts and sticks. These are crowded into two permanent villages known as " Njemps Kubwa " and " Njemps Ndogo " in the Tigrish valley a few miles south of Lake Baringo; the closely packed huts almost touch each other, and the mud-walled granaries are surrounded by strong palisades.

In general the Il-Tiamus keep as close as they can to the dress and customs of the pastoral Masai; they have circumcision and *eunoto* and other ceremonies, and practise the " free-love " system of the pastoralists, though without the *manyatas*. Today they have some 180,000 acres of poor land, most of it unfit for cultivation; but they have acquired, since the establishment of British rule, some 12,000 or more head of cattle, and 30,000 goats and sheep, thus achieving in part the ambition of all Il-Oikop to become cattle people again. In the time of Thomson and Teleki, however, Njemps was an important station on the caravan route, and von Höhnel noted that they had a large extent of cultivated land. This was divided into blocks (he says of three to four miles square) which were intersected by irrigation channels bringing water from dams across the river Tigrish. This system was still working in Dundas's time, who says that the opening of the main ditch was performed with the sacrifice of a sheep at the mouth of the ditch.[13] Besides agriculture, the Il-Tiamus fished and hunted, using the bow, and spears of Suk and Turkana types.

It is possible that the fishing group called Il-Molo who live on the east shore of Lake Rudolf is to be classed as Il-Oikop.[12] They subsist on a diet of fish alone which, when Teleki and von Höhnel saw them in 1888, had produced no ill-effects; but it seems now to have resulted in considerable physical degeneration, and in the appearance of rickets in all members of the group. There seems to be a good deal of Gelaba blood in them.

The Il-Arusa round Mount Meru are a large tribe of agricultural Masai, originally of Bantu stock, but now accepted by the pastoral Masai as worthy of recognition as a group which can pay and receive cattle for compensation in cases of homicide. The Baraguyu in Southern Masailand are also to be classed as agricultural Masai.[14]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Social Organization

Life Cycle

From birth to circumcision a male is a boy, *ol-ayioni*. At circumcision[15] he enters an age-set and becomes a warrior, *ol-murrani*, " one who is circumcised," and may associate with unmarried girls. At the *ol-gesher* ceremony he becomes an elder, *ol-morno*. Warriors may marry when they become senior warriors. After the *ol-gesher* the newly made elders attend to their family concerns, and get wives

[12] K. R. Dundas, *JRAI*, XL, pp. 49–55.
[13] W. S. Dyson and V. E. Fuchs, " The Elmolo," *JRAI*, 1937, LXVII, p. 327; von Höhnel, II, pp. 138–40.
[14] The people known as WaMeru in northern Tanganyika are not Masai, but people of Bantu stock who have imitated them.
[15] There is some uncertainty as to the age at which boys are circumcised. Hollis gives the limits as 13–17 years; Fosbrooke gives the lower limit as 16 or 17.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL 10

The information collected directly was supplemented by the replies to two questionnaires issued by the Medical Department to district medical officers, medical missionaries, chiefs of tribes and others interested in the investigation. One questionnaire dealt with the dietary customs of natives and the other with the incidence and etiology of ulcers.

II.—FIELD WORK.

(a) Dietary Customs and Incidence of Disease in the Kikuyu and Masai Reserves.

Dr. J. W. Foster was sent out from the Rowett Research Institute to carry out this part of the investigation, and Dr. J. C. J. Callanan, of the Medical Service in Kenya, was specially detailed to work with him for the first five months.

The two reserves chosen for the investigation were the Kikuyu and Masai, the choice being made on account of the fact that the reserves adjoin while the dietary customs of the tribes are very different, the Akikuyu* being almost exclusively vegetarian and the Masai chiefly carnivorous.

The two Reserve areas were visited alternately during a period of over a year and a half, each trip occupying two or three months. Samples of all foodstuffs in common use were collected and despatched to the Rowett Institute for analysis. The samples consisted of articles of diet in the raw state, cooked foods, edible earths, salt substitutes, and natural mineral waters used in cooking.

A physical examination was made of 6,349 Kikuyu and 1,546 Masai† adult natives of both sexes and all ages. The examination was made under eighteen heads, including stature, weight, chest, abdomen and calf measurements; presence of anæmia; condition of teeth and gums; general physical and muscular development; strength as indicated by the dynamometer; presence of hernia, splenomegaly; ulcers.

A similar examination was made of 2,500 Kikuyu and 254 Masai children. The special object of this examination was to compare the tribal incidence, during the growth period, of osseous deformities, dental caries, periodontitis, anæmia, and general signs of malnutrition.

The subjects examined for physical condition were taken at random from the healthy section of the community in all parts of the Reserves. Great care was taken to exclude any sick native who presented himself. Apart from this, no selection was made, and the records may be taken as representatives of the average native of the Reserves.

An estimation was made of the diseases prevailing in the two tribes. Hospital returns were analysed, but, as it became apparent that, for

* The prefix "A" in Akikuyu has a collective sense, the term "Akikuyu" referring to the tribe as a whole, while the term "Kikuyu" has only an adjectival significance.

† It should be noted that the estimated populations of the Kikuyu and Masai Reserves at the end of 1929 were respectively 795,934 and 48,547.

(ii) *The Masai.*

The Masai are a pastoral tribe whose sole occupation is the tending of large herds of cattle, sheep and goats. It has been estimated that they have about 25 head of cattle, and twice as many sheep and goats, per head of the population.

The staple articles of diet are meat, milk, and blood. The blood is drawn from the living animal by puncture of the jugular vein with an arrow. Various roots and barks are used to make infusions which are used either with boiled meat or with milk. The men, while in the "moran," or warrior class, subsist practically entirely on these articles of diet. The rest of the population, in addition to these four items, which form the main part of their food, eat also some bananas, beans, millet, arrowroot, maize, sugar and honey, as these are available. The use of maize, which was introduced only a few years ago, is increasing.

For the greater part of the year there is no scarcity of meat, blood and milk, but in periods of severe drought, when, in spite of the large herds, the milk supply is inadequate, the consumption of these vegetable foods is increased, and even the "moran" may be compelled to supplement their meat and milk diet.

Berries are eaten by the warriors when on safari, *i.e.*, on hunting or fighting expeditions. It appears also to be customary to send the pregnant women into the bush to eat berries. The berries would make an insignificant contribution to the main constituents of the diet, but it is probable that they are of considerable importance as an antiscorbutic addition.

One section of the tribe, the Loitokitok, have adopted a frankly mixed diet. It is of interest that pica among the Masai is confined to this section, who use edible earths from various sources with their vegetable foods.

(*b*) Chemical Composition of Native Foodstuffs, Edible Earths, and Mineral Waters.

The results of the chemical analysis of 153 samples of substances used in the dietary of the two tribes are given in Appendix I. Certain points of interest are discussed below.

(i) *Foodstuffs.*

In the following table a comparison is made between the analyses of the chief Kenya foodstuffs and analyses of similar products grown in other regions, probably in Europe or America, as quoted by Sherman (1926). All the figures are given as grams per 100 grams dry matter.

	Kenya Maize.	*Maize.*
Ca	·005	·011
P	·41	·32
Na	·038	·084
Cl	·05	·058
K	·42	·48

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

It will be seen that the first three estimates are in good agreement with the actual weighings. The fourth, which is an estimate of the upper limit of food intake, probably represents a quantity well above the usual average.

Taking all the available information together, therefore, it is believed that an estimate based on the samples actually weighed and measured forms a sufficiently accurate approximation to the daily food intake.

(ii) *The Masai.*

The assessment of the composition of the diet presents fewer difficulties in the case of the Masai. While a certain amount of differentiation exists between the sexes, it is less marked and of less importance than that between Kikuyu males and females. The following figures show the approximate amounts of the different foods taken :—

Average Diet of Masai Male of Warrior Class.

Meat	1,135 grams.
Milk	2,000 c.c.
Blood	50 c.c.

Average Diet of Women and Males, not Warriors.

Meat	450 grams.
Milk	1,400 c.c.
Maize Meal	250 grams.

(iii) *Comparison of the two tribes.*

On the basis of the above dietaries, the following table has been prepared, comparing the average daily intake of the most important constituents of the diets in the two tribes.

Comparison of probable Average Daily Intake (excluding incidental Food Consumption) of Dietary Constituents by Kikuyu and Masai.

	Kikuyu.			Masai.	
	Males.	Females.		Males.	Females.
		On basis of common diet.	On basis of women's irio.		
	gms.	gms.	gms.	gms.	gms.
Protein	99	140	82	300	165
Fat	22	20	8	160	90
Carbohyd	390	400	220	100	245
Ca	·28	·46	1·86	2·94	2·03
P	3·0	4·4	2·19	4·36	3·19
Na	·48	·88	1·56	1·80	·94

The above table does not take account of any incidental consumption of maize, sweet potatoes, bananas, or other similar foods, by the Kikuyu. These would increase the caloric value of

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10

KM
262

(a) A Study of the Adequacy of Hospital and Prison Diets.

The following figures give the prescribed diets and the composition as determined by actual analyses of sample issues.

Native Civil Hospital. Diet "A." Daily ration.		Long Term Prison Diet. Daily ration.		Prison Hospital Diet. Daily ration.	
Beans	6 oz.	Beans	6 oz.	Beans	6 oz.
Beef	6 oz.	Beef*	8 oz.	Beef	8 oz.
Maize (meal) ..	1½ lb.	Maize (whole) ..	1½ lb.	Maize (meal) ..	1½ lb.
Jaggery	1 oz.	Potatoes ..	8 oz.	Potatoes ..	6 oz.
Potatoes and Vegetables ..	6 oz.	Salt	½ oz.	Salt	½ oz.
Salt	½ oz.	Ghee†	1 oz.	Ghee	½ oz.
		Lemons	2 per week.	Lemons	2 per week.

* Given only 3 days per week. † Given only 4 days per week.

KM
146

Composition.

	Native Civil Hospital. Average of two samples.	Long Term Prison.	Prison Hospital. Average of two samples.
	gms.	gms.	gms.
Protein	97	116·5	125·3
Carbohydrates ..	487	626	535
Fat	36·8	53·4	48·5
Calories	2,668	3,450	3,079
Fibre	12·3	12	26
Ash	32	20·7	29·3
Ca	·29	·3	·346
P	1·84	2·36	2·65

There are no standards, based on experimental data, for the food requirements of African natives. Breinl and Young (1919–20) reviewing the existing information on dietary requirements in the tropics, conclude that "in general, the requirements in calories, either of white men or coloured natives, does not differ appreciably from European standards." Further, there is no reason to expect that there would be much difference in the relative proportions of the different constituents required. Hence, considering the analyses on the basis of European standards, the caloric value and protein intake appear to be ample. The amount of fat, however, is distinctly below 60 gms., which is regarded by several writers as the desirable amount.

We have little experimental information on the calcium and phosphorus requirements of men. Sherman and his co-workers, from the results of their experiments, consider that the minimum requirement is 0·45 gm. of calcium per man per day. To bring the

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

Ka 164 196

In the absence of further information, it can only be said that the results of this investigation suggest that susceptibility to ulcer, which appears to be general amongst natives on ill-balanced diets of the type mentioned, is correlated with a high blood inorganic phosphate, occurring with a normal, or slightly subnormal calcium, and that the actual occurrence of ulcer is associated with an exaggeration of this abnormality.

IV.—SUMMARY OF RESULTS.

M K 146 164

Preliminary observations and a review of existing information suggested that disease is more prevalent amongst native races than is generally supposed, and indicated that the incidence of certain diseases might be correlated with diet.

A survey of two tribes, the Masai and Akikuyu, showed that the diet of the former consisted to a large extent of milk, meat and raw blood, and that of the latter mainly of cereals, roots and fruits, the bulk of the diet being cereals. The outstanding points of difference in chemical composition of the two diets were that the Masai have a relatively very high intake of protein, fat and calcium, while the Kikuyu have a high intake of carbohydrate and a low one of calcium. Differences were found in the dietary customs between men and women in both tribes, the diets of the females approaching in each case to the mean between the diets of the males.

M K [262]

M K [141]

Physical measurements showed that the full-grown Masai male is on an average, 5 inches taller and 23 lb. heavier than the full-grown male Kikuyu, and his muscular strength, as determined by the dynamometer, is 50 per cent. greater. Marked differences were found in the incidence of disease in the two tribes, bony deformities, dental caries and anæmia, pulmonary conditions and tropical ulcer being much more prevalent amongst the Akikuyu. On the other hand, intestinal stasis and rheumatoid arthritis were more common amongst the Masai.

Kg [146]

Analyses showed that routine Hospital and Prison diets are markedly deficient in calcium, the average daily intake being only about 0·3 gm. Ca, as compared with the assessed requirement of about 1 gm.

K Ka 147

Examination of the blood of Kikuyu and other natives on a similar dietary showed that the concentration of calcium was lower than the European standard, the average of 90 cases, prisoners and farm labourers (not pathological) being 9·4 mg. per 100 c.c. serum, as compared with 10·0 to 10·5 mg. in Europeans at home, and 11·4 mg. in 13 Europeans in Kenya. The range of variation in blood calcium was wide, from 7·3 mg. to 11·2 mg., the highest figure being below the mean for Europeans in Kenya.

561 535 [387] [574] [262] warrey of old: 'I am the son of So-and-So,' and 'I am the Son of Such-and-Such' and drive their branding irons into the outcrop. They fill their gourds with it and then return home and are treated with great reverence at Masai villages *en route*, being fed on a hot mixture of milk and water, known as 'blue water.'

Once painted, the young men formed into two columns, some 50 yards apart, and marched to the village. Many wore ostrich headdresses and some the lion-mane caps. Around their necks and waists they wore gaily coloured lengths of calico and beaded thongs secured crescent-shaped bells to their thighs. The clashing of the bells was deafening. This return journey to the village is carefully planned so that the young men do not have to walk through or near any water or cross a stream. On nearing the village, the columns counter-marched, then joined together into double file and entered the arena. As they passed, their mothers called out: '*Endopok*!'—'May you survive!'—but many of the women were busy attending to those throwing fits. There were a number of very violent ones as soon as the columns had passed within the circle of houses. Then the columns split up into groups and marched back and forth across the arena, each group [534] led by an elder blowing a kudu horn (one of the very few Masai musical instruments). Now and then two groups would halt and, forming line, kneel and bow to one another; or to the *O-Singira* hut.

56 [302] [413] Late in the afternoon of this day the mothers of the 49 'pure ones' shave their sons' heads. All the hair, eyebrows included, is removed by means of a spatulate Masai razor. Milk is used in place of soap. Whilst being shaved, each young man squats in front of his hut on the ceremonial hide on which, as a boy, he had sat to be circumcised, and which, in future, will form the top layer of his mother's bed. A little of the hair from the *Ol-Otuno* and his lieutenant is also put in their mothers' beds, the remainder being thrown into the calf pens which form a part of their family home. Great care is taken that none is left lying about in the open [825] [554] in case birds should use it for their nests—a grave affront to the young men's sacred role.

During the course of the day the branches used as night barricades between the houses were replaced with new ones bearing [789] green leaves. This is a symbolic act, meant to ensure that the *muran* may flourish as 'green bay trees.'

The third day is called 'The Day of the Sacred Hut.' During the morning a heifer, a gift to the *Ol-Otuno* from his father, is driven into the bush and slaughtered. This animal, called 'The Cow of the Rings,' must be a first-calver, well built, and black with a white belly. All the *muran* gathered at the slaughtering place to receive their rings from 'The Cutter-up of the Hide,' whilst their families waited in the village in an atmosphere of great expectancy.

Late in the afternoon the first of the *muran*, naked and still whitened with diatomite, came running back to his hut. There he received a deafening welcome from his family, whom he then led in a boisterous procession round and round the sacred hut. Soon, the whole arena was full of *muran* leading their families round the *O-Singira*, everyone shouting and highly excited. Each young man wore, on the third finger of his left hand, a ring from the hide of the *Ol-Otuno*'s heifer. These rings are really only strips of hide about four inches long with a hole near one end to take the wearer's finger. After a time, the 'pure' 49 arrived, their shaven heads gleaming, white circles of diatomite like spectacles round their eyes and garlands of green leaves round their necks. They stood in a group near the *O-Singira* whilst the *Ol-Otuno* was led to his hut. In front of his doorway was placed the hide on [351] which he had sat to be shaved, and on this was set his three-legged stool, and into its concave seat was poured a mixture of water, milk and honey. The *Ol-Otuno*, who seemed all too conscious of his role of scapegoat, then sat on the stool.

231	613
233	614
262	643
304	721
411	754
524	759
564	802
595	805

[For mythological accounts of the origin of:

livestock and dogs	see category 539, p. 359
honey as a source of food	360
board game	361
club carved of wood	362
blood as a source of food	362
blacksmiths	364
clans and lineages	368-369
counting and number words	370
7-day week	376
polygamy	377
ol oiboni and chief	377
circumcision	382
double-edged knife	382
sorcerers	382
physicians	362
mandate for war on non- Masai	382-383.]

/13 cont./

MD 142 eyes are almond-shaped, straight or somewhat slanted. The nose is extended, narrow, and, at the root, flat or very moderately deep-set compared to the forehead. The alae are narrow and very flat, the nostrils roundish to longitudinally oval, less often transversely oval. The bridge of the nose is straight, sometimes slightly convex. The lips are full, without appearing actually protruding. Protruding, thick lips are something so rare and striking that they earn their owner the name Lebeleb -- thick lip (or actually: uproar, loud noise). The ears are small, except for the hyperplasia of the upper edge of the ear and ear lobes caused by the wearing of heavy ornaments. The hair is evenly distributed over the scalp, which is most clearly shown on recently shaved heads. The hair often appears "tufty," but this is artifically produced. Only at a length of from one to three centimeters does it curl slightly and /14/ almost never becomes completely curly. The arms and especially the legs are very long, the wrists thin, hands and feet, especially among female individuals, small, narrow, and delicate, the fingers are slender and often strikingly long and narrow, the fingernails long, narrow, and slightly arched.

MD 619 174 Even if the racial membership of the three branches were to be traced anthropologically, one can determine an even closer connection ethnographically, which must lead to the conviction that all three belong to the same people. The difference in their principal occupations, to be sure, seems at /Ill. 3 appears here/ first glance to indicate a sharp division. As has already been pointed out above, however, one can easily explain these differences by the consistent behavior of a people of similar customs and habits under unlike external circumstances. The predilection for stock raising, based on the eagerness for a meat diet, and the nomadic life necessarily growing out of it were common. While the Wandorobo had to endure it when their livestock fell victim to epidemics and raids of the strong Wakuafi, the latter, under pressure from the still mightier Masai, had to flee from the open plains to fixed residences in the mountains. The Wakuafi protected

MD 174 619 233 • 262

/14 cont./

M
142
301
302
291
144

Ill. 3. Young Masai. 2 and 4 pure-blooded, 3 mixed with Negro blood, 1 doubtful.

M
174
619
233
262

The Wakuafi protected what remained of their livestock by giving up their roving life, whereas the Wandorobo, by sacrificing their herds, were able to continue their fancied nomadic life as hunters; and neither of them needed to forgo the meat diet.

M
174
619
197

/15/ Even though, in general, one should be very careful in ethnology about drawing conclusions from linguistic bases, it seems permissible here, on behalf of the three branches' belonging to one people, to point to their language as well.

As a matter of fact, we find the same language among the Masai and Wakuafi, with the limitation that for the latter, with the great number of Masai dialects, sometimes this one, sometimes that one is their own, according to the location of their area, whereas the very widely ranging Masai probably understand almost all the dialects. In addition, for the Wakuafi, in places, according to the degree of their mixture with Negro tribes, a language of the latter's is more or less familiar. Of the Wandorobo, the El gasurek speak only the language of the Masai, whereas the Asá and

D
197

/21 cont./

791 576 609 rises, goes toward him, and, with the customary greeting, extends his hand to him, whereby, not this, but the wrist is grasped. After the concluded discussion, for which there are no particular formalities, he takes his leave with the ordinary farewell.

791 789 [262] In the way of food, the ol oiboni takes only goat liver roasted on the fire, milk, and honey, for, through any other food, "he would suffer the loss of the capacity for prophecy and the preparation of efficacious magic charms." Of these arts very little is [173] supposed to have been handed down to his son Lenana and still less to Zendeo, through which it is all the more explicable that the /22/ Masai today tell of hundreds of different kinds of miracles that Mbatyan allegedly performed. According to them, he could fell large trees by sheer will power, or he had the hut in which he was to be found set afire by his attendant, and, after it had burned down, he appeared, uninjured, out of the ashes.

756 [613] From the En gidon lineage there are further supplied, as has already been mentioned, the sorcerers or medicine men (ol goiatiki, el goiatek), several of whom live in each district. Their office, too, is handed down from father to son, who, however, is usually initiated into the whole secret art only after his marriage. The [789] most important magic charm in the life of the Masai, the war medicine, the ol goiatiki does not know how to make. Rather, one turns to him only in cases of illness of human beings and livestock for which the well-known remedies fail, or which one traces back to the sorcery of evil neighbors, as well as to determine unknown wrongdoers (thieves, murderers, etc.).

613 [776] The lineage of the El kiboron of the El mûleljan tribe, who, according to the view of all the people, are especially favored by 'Ng ai, the god of the Masai, which has made them primarily the bearers of the religious traditions, require a special discussion.

613 157 Corresponding to their position with 'Ng ai, they are distinguished by a relative peaceableness. The young warriors, to be sure, also set out on raiding expeditions with the other lineages, but they thereby seem to avoid any unnecessary roughness or brutality, in which the others often compete. The passion for disputes, quarrels, and vituperation, a prominent trait in the character of the young

/31 cont./

517 For the most part an atmosphere of dullness and boredom lies
535 over the kraal of the married (eŋg aṉ el moruak). Only on moon-
[533] lit evenings /32/ do the women amuse themselves with song, es-
pecially if a few warriors are there on a visit and give the impetus
for the gaiety. Women and warriors dance in separate groups.
For dancing the women station themselves in a row, move forward
a short distance, then make a "right turn" and, with short steps,
dance in a row back to the former place. The married men dance
only on festive occasions, but by themselves. The text of the
accompanying song naturally refers to the life prevailing here.

517 Otherwise quiet prevails in the family kraal after darkness has
521 set in; in good weather the people will sit for a while in front of
513 the huts, silently or softly conversing, and go to rest already at
8:00 o'clock or 8:30.

621 Even 12-14 years ago, before the Masai lost their huge
592 livestock-holdings in two great epidemics, each family had its
178 own kraal; now, on the other hand, almost everywhere several
233 families live together.
731

In the morning life begins around 4:00 o'clock, at which time
512 the women fetch the quite young calves from the compartments
[462] and take them to the cows, where they remain for the driving out
[233] to pasture. At daybreak the milking commences, for which all
[234] the women appear. After it is finished, breakfast, consisting of
264 fresh milk, is taken. Milk, soups, and thin porridge are drunk
[512] from gourd bottles; foods of greater consistency are put in the
[262] mouth with the fingers. Meat is partially cut up with a knife and
[415] completely torn into bits with the teeth. The hands are not washed
[412] before a meal. Smacking and belching while eating show good
breeding. Men and women eat apart and have their separate
vessels for eating and drinking. Those of the latter are shared by
the children. If the man wishes to eat in the hut, the woman has
to leave it beforehand.

/32 cont./

512 [462] [351] [252] When the livestock have been driven out of the kraal to pasture, the women and children start to clean it. Then the fire is lighted in the huts and on it are placed the pots filled with water in which the vegetables are to be cooked. These pots (e modi, 'modio) are [415] [439] not made by the Masai themselves, but are bought from sedentary tribes or also from the Wandoróbo, who presumably learned the potter's art from them. They are a foot high and globular. In con- 262 [241] trast to the warriors, all the occupants of the family kraal, especially since the cattle epidemics, eat vegetable food which they buy from the neighboring peoples, since they themselves do not 262 engage in any agriculture at all. Their favorite foods, however, 272 are, of course, milk, meat, and blood. Milk is always drunk by [158] healthy people uncooked, as fresh (eṅ gule) or sour (eṅ gule naoto); boiled milk is food for the sick and as such is usually mixed with pulverized grains of ol lodoa (Maesa lanceolata). Sheep milk is especially popular because of its very high fat content. Blood of cattle, sheep, and goats is drunk fresh or eaten in the clotted [158] state. Milk mixed with fresh or /33/ cooked blood (en jiwót) is greatly appreciated; this drink is highly esteemed as invalid soup [234] for the wounded. Cheese making is unknown. Butter is made by agitating the cream in a large gourd-bottle (en diagolgol). Fat, [252] rendered in a pot, is used as an ingredient in other foods, especially [263] meat broth, but is also drunk without any admixture. Meat is prepared without adding salt; it is cooked either with various spices or roasted on a stick at the open fire. One does not eat in [252] one day cooked meat and milk /Ill. 13 appears here/ together [153] [263] (1).

[171]

1. This was also forbidden for the Hebrews, according to the 2nd Book of Moses 23, 19-34, 26, passages which are part of the so-called Yahwist documents, that is, the oldest sources of the Pentateuch.

because the latter together with the ol mokotan spice (bark of

/33 cont./

462
351
516

C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 13. Women cleaning the kraal.

262 Albizzia anthelmintica) always used in the cooking of meat is
272 supposed to cause severe diarrhea. Therefore milk that is offered
[153] is often refused in the hope that a meal of meat will be obtained
[263] on the same day. One who wishes to partake of both foods in one day -- and where is there a Masai who could resist an invitation to a meal of meat?! -- vomits first before eating the meat, for which he produces the necessary stimulus by means of a blade of grass stuck in the throat. If one has eaten cooked meat today, then /34/ one first drinks some blood in the morning before the milk, not out of considerations of health, but rather because it is believed that the livestock would give less milk as a consequence
[231] of neglecting this custom. Bringing milk into contact with meat is most scrupulously avoided, because, according to the general view, through that the udder of the cow from whom that milk came would become permanently diseased. For this reason the

/34 cont./

262 272 Masai only most reluctantly and infrequently sell cow's milk, for the buyer indeed could in the above-mentioned manner make their cows sick with it. The Masai scorn any kind of game meat, as [136] well as birds and even fish, of the latter of which species of Barbus, Chromis, Clarias, and the sheatfish-like Synodontis occur almost everywhere in larger brooks.

252 262 263 The preparation of the principal vegetables is the following: batatas (oi muruŋgu, ei muruŋguni -- Ipomoea batatas) are cooked in water with a little steppe salt (e munjáŋ), then drained, mashed with a whisk (oi gibere, ei giberen), and stirred with fresh milk. The finished dish is called ei muruŋguni. Unripe bananas (oi marigôi, ei marigo -- Musa paradisiaca) are peeled, cut up, and cooked in water with salt. After they have been drained, a little butter (eŋ gorno) is added. Unripe dried bananas (oi kitâŋo, ei kitâŋóŋ) are cooked in water, drained, and then stirred with milk and butter. Maize kernels (oi bâlegi, ei bâleg) are cooked in water without the addition of salt. Beans are cooked with salt. One distinguishes oi bombôi -- ei bombo (Dolichos lablab), eŋ giú --eŋ giúŋ (with which both Cajanus indicus and Vigna sinensis are designated), furthermore os sigoriôi -- es sigorio (Phaseolus vulgaris), oi gámuri -- ei gámuri (Phaseolus radiatus). Eleusine coracana (en daba -- 'n dabán, or en drigá -- 'n drigán or also called en guruma -- 'n guruman) and Sorghum vulgare (oi birirí -- ei birirín) are cooked to a thick porridge and lightly salted. Dioscorea abessynica (oi geré -- ei gerén) and Colocasia antiquorum (which the Masai on Kilimandscharo designate with the Dschagga /Chagga/ word maduma) are cooked in salted water.

Honey (en aischo -- 'n aischi) is eaten unmixed and is also used as an addition to various medicamenta. They buy tobacco 276 [439] (oi gumbâu, Nicotiana rustica), which the Masai consume in quantities, from sedentary Negroes, who put it on the market in loose, bast-wrapped packets (Fig. 4) of various sizes or in the shape of solid balls about five centimeters in diameter. [415] → For the preparation of this, the tobacco leaves, picked ripe, are tightly packed, tied up with

Fig. 4

/36 cont./

524 Now the partner starts in the same way playing in his row. /37/ to let the other play again as soon as he has placed a last stone in an empty compartment. The one who places a last stone in an empty compartment of his own row takes it and the ones lying in the adjacent compartment of the opponent's row for himself, and so on until, according to the rules, no more stones can be taken out of play. The one who has removed the most stones has won the match and gives himself a point. Serving as counters [802] [239] are small, finger-thick, and spindle-shaped ivory sticks 15-20 centimeters long (oi alai, ol ala) (1).

1. As tooth generally is called tusk of the elephant, ivory.

Before the game starts, there is an understanding as to how many points are to be played. Women never play this game, warriors rarely. The latter usually prefer the en gebé (ɛ̀ gebɛ̀), which is played in much the same way, except that in any case about eight players for each side take turns and each row has 40 to 50 compartments, which are not chiseled into a board, but are scratched into the ground.

415
531

Fig. 9. (To

512
234
264
262

When the livestock has come home from pasture, it is milked, as in the morning, and after that the evening meal, consisting of fresh milk, is taken.

/50 cont./

843 observed, since as a rule a new pregnancy ends the nursing period.
[853] The pregnant woman removes the ornaments that she previously
[783] wore, in order -- as the Masai explain this custom -- not to entice men. During the first five months of pregnancy the woman lives as usual with respect to food and drink. Then she is given a broth of
• [262] lung, liver, and kidneys cooked with a bitter-tasting tree bark (2)

2. From Albizzia anthelmintica.

called ol mokotan, and milk, only the latter during the last month. Through this the woman is supposed to become as exceedingly thin as possible, so that the birth will proceed easier. She may not eat the meat of fallen livestock. The husband during this time need not subject himself to any special diet or special acts, but he may not go to war, for it is believed that he would die on the way. Shortly before the delivery the husband may not leave the kraal or its immediate
[732] vicinity. If he should tease a crippled person or mock him because of his infirmity, the awaited child would come into the world af-
844 flicted with the same defect. /51/ For a successful delivery the
[782] pregnant woman prays: 'Ng ai ndaba 'ndubuggu en tiamassi (1)

1. Or en diamassi.

= "God let come out healthy -- the monster," as the unborn child is called. The woman gives birth in her hut, which on this day may be entered only by women and girls. A midwife (eh gaitoijoni, h gaitoijok) provides or performs the necessary assistance. If the newborn child is a boy, the midwife calls out that blood should be drawn from an ox as food for the woman in childbed; in the other case, from a heifer. Through this the father also learns the sex of the new-
[782] born child. During the birth process the women who are in the hut or standing around it cry to God for help and assistance in shrill, often
845 plaintive voices. The birth of a boy is more desired than that of a
[842] girl, but the greatest joy prevails at the birth of twins, especially if both are boys. In that case the woman often keeps only the first-born child with her, while the second one is nursed by another suitable

881 /63 cont./
[304] words and blows by the assembled warriors, because they did not
[866] rear their son to have the hardening and self-control necessary for
[626] a warrior, while the weakling is reviled for a long time afterwards as ebíryo = coward, or tóróno = the bad one. After the circumcision all the men of the neighborhood gather in the kraal, where they are
[872] regaled with meat and honey beer by the fathers of the ones just circumcised, after the latter have kindled a fire with juniper twigs (Juniperus procera). The festival is called ol ogór l el aijok amerite,
[252] that is, the festival of the circumcised boys. Unbelievable amounts (1)
[262]
[261]

1. I once observed that my four Masai boys together at an evening meal ate over 80 pounds of lean meat.

of raw or half-cooked meat slightly roasted at the open fire are consumed in the shortest time by the married men and women, whereas the warriors neither eat meat nor drink honey beer, but only take
[522] some fresh milk. People joke and laugh and everyone seems to
[521] want to outshout the others. The warriors boast of alleged heroic deeds in former wars and discuss the prospects of the ones circumcised that day on their first military expedition, which will perhaps take them to this or that region, where they themselves had made an attack only a short time before. The fathers dream of their sons' future heroic deeds and are happy at the thought of the rich booty with which
881 the budding warriors will augment the paternal herds. Suddenly the
626 glances of a few who had just been joking darken and turn toward
152 a distant hut at whose door a solitary old man is sitting. They jump up and go toward him with quick steps. The angry expression on their faces matches their rough and abruptly uttered invectives and threats, in which one hears the reproaches that the old man has brought up his son to be a weak coward, who during the circumcision betrayed his pain by a twitching of facial muscles and a half-suppressed groan, which they, however, jeeringly compare to the roar of pain of a bull being cut. The old man has quickly fled from their imprecations into his hut, and his attackers vent their wrath on two gourd bottles of honey beer left standing, which they knock over and

881 /63 cont./
[626] trample underfoot. The one now scorned had also wanted /64/ to
[152] regale guests with it on that day, but no one came to him whose son showed himself to be a tŏrŏnŏ. While the old people, as long as
[535] there is something to eat and drink, are only interested in that, the
[533] warriors, already early in the afternoon, start to dance and sing with the young girls and amuse themselves in this way into the night. Not until about ten o'clock do they go back to their kraal, to which the girls presently follow them, after they have begged for a little more milk, which they take along to their lovers. /Ill. 18 appears here./

[158] The circumcised boys, soon after the completed operation, went into the huts of their mothers and stayed there for seven days, until a superficial healing of the wound has taken place. In order to hasten this, they are particularly well cared for and are given only milk,
[411] blood, and meat. During the following period, until complete
[223] healing, they roam in small bands with bow and arrow -- they do not use the ordinary bows, but ones only about half as long, made only for this occasion: the arrows used with them have a wax ball at the tip -- through steppe /65/ and forest, in order to shoot small birds, the skins of which they string by the beaks on a cord, which they place garland-like around forehead and occiput. Between the bird
[301] skins the es sibolio (sing. os siboli) -- as the newly circumcised ones
[302] are called during their recuperation -- stick an ostrich feather on each side of their heads and paint their faces with white clay (en doroto). On the first day they go out, they slaughter a white goat-
[262] buck on the steppe. After they have roasted and eaten its meat, they throw the gnawed bones into the fire. This meal is called ol gĭne l ol benek (ol gĭne = the goat buck, ol benek means the tree with whose branches they make the fire). Every evening after their excursions they return to the kraal and to the huts of their mothers.

881
591 As soon as the young girl, who until then has lived in the warrior kraal in the most unrestrained freedom, concludes from certain

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 86 1

/71 cont./

IX.

000 Age classes. -- The annual courses of an age class. -- Age-class association. -- Organization of the circumcised. -- Choice of speaker and of the ol aunoni; their activity. -- Festivities at the formation of an age-class association. -- Significance of the age classes. -- Division of an age class. -- Names of age classes.

561 All the boys circumcised during a series of circumcision years belong to an age class (ol borōr). Within them the boys form, since they are circumcised at yearly or somewhat longer intervals, annual courses by way of divisions.

The first annual course of an age class is the el jaŋgĕn ŏbĭr; they are followed by the el bariŋgo-duallan; the youngest annual course of the ones circumcised during the circumcision years is the el gerimbot. They are followed by a fourth one, the el oirogua. These are circumcised only after /72/ the circumcision years have officially ended by the celebration of the eŋ̀ gebāta festival ordered by the ol oiboni. Anyone who wishes to be circumcised after this festival may not take part in celebrating the above-mentioned festival, otherwise his circumcision is not permitted.

Every two age classes together form an association (ol adji) in which the older is designated as the right circumcision (emorat' ertatenne), the younger one as the left circumcision (emorat' ekediĕnje). Each of them has definite rules forbidding for them the uttering of certain words or the enjoyment of certain foods. The emorat' ertatenne may eat neither head nor tail pieces of slaughtered livestock and do not say eŋg aŋ́ en dare for goat-kraal, /Ill. 25 appears here/ but rather e merata en dare; moreover, they say ol ogunja for head, and not ol ukuŋgu, and for tail piece, not ol gorom, but rather en aisuba. The others may eat neither gourd nor cucumber, and for arrow poison they say en duerai, instead of e sajĕt. It is an insult, which often leads to immediate violence, if the one does or says the things forbidden to the other, which are called en dorotj, in the latter's presence.

561 • 262 784

/76 cont./

561 701 According to this, the institution of the age classes together with the existence of the age grades, which were more sharply defined and made more prominent in their meaning by the former, seems so important for the maintenance of a constantly war-ready troop that the thought obtrudes as to whether that institution did not first become formed out of a striving for such a band of warriors. [103] The warriors' living together as a valuable impetus for comradeship and esprit de corps, in which lies a chief condition for success in war, leads further to celibacy and then to free love; one can see as its sequel the women's society that belongs to an age class. This in turn then is the first step for mother right, of which, indeed, we also find remnants among the Masai.

X.

000 Introduction of the youths to the warrior life. -- Their first war expedition. -- The ol oiboni gives them the name for the age class. -- Shield escutcheon: its individual constituent parts and their meaning. -- The youths become warriors.

701 702 561 [291] [302] [411] As soon as the circumcision wound has healed, the circumcised exchange the long apron (ol gelí, el gelíni) for the short skin-cape (e megiti, /77/ megitin), again put on their ornaments, anoint their bodies with red paint and, after they have once more shaved their heads, set out as el barnot (sing. ol barnoti, formed from barno = bald-headed), armed with spear, club, sword, and shield, into the bush to celebrate the ol geteñ l oñ gutui. Spear, shield, and sword are gifts from their fathers; they have carved the club themselves. As we shall learn later in connection with the warriors, they divide themselves into mess-groups of five or six. In the forest they erect [342] a kraal of thorns for themselves or even build small huts out of leaves. 701 702 561 The festival consists of consuming large quantities of meat and nothing but meat! For this each participant furnishes a fat ox obtained from his father, which must be plain-colored, black if possible.

527 [262] [822]

[Warrior Kraal]

/84 cont./

701 836 As long as the latter stays in the kraal, his girl is obliged to remain faithful to him, but if he leaves it, even for only one day, she is entitled to console herself with another kraal companion, provided that between her and him -- as is also a condition for her relationship with her os sandja -- there is no obstacle such as the above-mentioned obstacles to marriage based on lineage affiliation.

233 857 The tending of the livestock falls to the boys. Even at night they sleep outside in order to watch them and are assisted in the watch by the mothers, who take turns several times every night and frighten off wild animals by shouting.

361 /85/ 233 417 [343] [672] Within the ring of huts there is a circular kraal of thorns for the cattle and near that a narrower one for goats and sheep, while beside almost every hut there is a small lean-to for the young calves and a barricade of branches for the older calves of the individual ones. Thus everyone remains responsible for the barricading of his calves and, if at night they should find their way to the cows, has no excuse for starting a quarrel with others in the morning on account of the lack of milk.

701 262 264 [273] [276] Milk is the only food that the Ol morani takes in the kraal, and the lack of it is therefore especially grievous. Outside of it, only meat serves the warriors as food, and, to be sure, only that from cattle, sheep, and goats. They do not take vegetable food, honey beer, and tobacco. The meat meals are always held outside the kraal; a slaughtered head of small livestock is consumed a few hundred meters from the kraal, behind a bush, whereas for the consumption of a head of cattle a more distant spot under a shade tree in the bush /Fig. 18 appears here/ or forest is chosen. For these

701 262 264 574 forest meals (ol bul, e buli) mess companies are formed in every warrior kraal, which are designated sirit' ol bul and which consist of five or six members, each of whom is called os sirit ol bul. Such banquets take place once or twice a month for each mess company and last three or four days each time, during which an ox is consumed. Besides the warriors, one to three girls also take part, and also a few boys as servants for fetching pots, water, and firewood, as well as for kitchen work. Prior to the slaughtering each mess company splits up into two equal-sized parts, each of which is called

000 ol gibet and prepares its own camp. Under a shade tree with thick

[Warrior Kraal]

701 /85 cont./ Under a shade tree with thick
361 foliage a spot about 20 to 25 square meters in size is cleared and en-
342 closed with a barricade of branches. During the rainy season in place of this kraal a small hut (Fig. 18) is built out of leaves. Its approximately circular ground plan has a diameter of two to three meters. On the side opposite the entrance opening is the common sleeping place of the ol gibet companions; between this and the door, the hearth; beside the door the space for firewood.

701 342 35

[415] [237] [276] Close beside the sleeping place hangs the stomach or bladder -- from the head of cattle just slaughtered -- filled with an extract of roots and barks that acts as a nerve stimulant and is drunk whenever one is thirsty (ol ōōni).

Fig. 18.

a) Sleeping place. b) Drinking bag.
c) Pole for meat.
d) Hearth. e) Firewood.
f) Entrance.

[251] In the vicinity of the hearth the meat supply, is hung on sticks (ol
701 alele). In the vicinity of the warrior hut the serving boys build them-
342 selves their own, considerably smaller one. One calls kraal or hut eng adji ol bul. Each ol gibet receives a longitudinal half of the
701 slaughtered head of cattle, from which, however, it immediately
262 gives back the pieces intended for cooking for the common meals
264 of the day. /86/ The picked-out fat is cooked together with this
[252] meat, and to the whole are added extracts or decoctions from roots
[276] and barks (especially from ol getalassua (1),

1. Myrica kilimandscharica Engl.

ol giloriti (2),

2. Acacia abyssinica.

[Warrior Kraal]

701
262
264
[252]
[276]

/86 cont./
ol dimmigommi (3),

3. Pappea capensis.

which have a strong stimulating effect. The rest of the meat, roasted at an open fire, is then eaten by each ol gibet in common, and, to be sure, at a morning and an evening meal. The head of cattle is furnished in turn by the participants or their fathers.

The longest forest meal takes place as a rule in the month kipër. Since the pasture is poor then, the livestock gives so little milk that the warriors sometimes live for a whole month on almost only meat.

701
537
[293]
[237]

At the head of the warriors of a kraal stands the speaker (ol aigwenani or ol airohani). The badge of his office is an especially beautifully worked club or rhinoceros horn (4)

4. The straight horn of a species of Rhinoceros bicornis not yet described to my knowledge, which the author found at the beginning of 1896 in the steppe southeast of Kilimandscharo, is especially popular for making these clubs. The horns of this species (or variety) differ from those of the ones described thus far by the fact that they are quite straight and in cross-section never round, but rather so strongly compressed laterally that they appear sword-shaped; the front horn is often shorter than the back one.

or ebony wood. It is swung like a baton in connection with the speeches accompanied by numerous gestures, in order to give emphasis to individual words. This is also achieved in the manner of speaking, by the fact that one pronounces the emphasized words long drawn out and repeats the emphasized sentence several times. The speech to a larger gathering is always delivered very loudly and vigorously. While the listeners squat on the ground, the orator [516] stands erect, his glance directed alternately toward one or the other of the chief persons among the listeners. What the orator lacks in logic he tries to make up for by verbosity, dialectic, and higher pitch in tone. The members of the audience often give the impression of rapt attention, their glance is almost continually directed at the one

[Warrior Kraal]

512 /89 cont./

701 Life in the kraal begins at sunrise, when the mothers and the
462 girls start milking the livestock. Not until around seven o'clock,
[233] when the boys drive the livestock to pasture, do the warriors get up
[234] to take the first meal (en daã e dadegenja = food in the morning),
[224] consisting of fresh milk. Then the women apply themselves to the
[272]
[262]

701
535
291

C. G. Schillings phot.

Ill. 33. Dance in the warrior kraal II.

512 cleaning of the cattle stalls and other work, as well as to start the
701 cooking of their food, consisting of purchased vegetables. This is
462 eaten around two o'clock in the afternoon (en daã e kat' aré, that
[262] is, the second meal), while then the warriors at the same time
[264] drink the rest of the morning milk, which has already become
[272] somewhat sour (eñg ule naisedjo = slightly sour milk). After that
512 the old women take a nap or busy themselves with sewing and making
535 ornaments, while the warriors along with the girls /90/ amuse
701 themselves with dance and song (os siñgólio) under a nearby shade
tree. For this a row of warriors stands opposite a row of girls. The
former dance in place by slightly lifting the feet and bending the

/94 cont./
726 'Ng ai's blessing upon the sons and their companions going off to war.
782 The old men hold a small gourd bottle of honey beer in the right hand, a similar one of milk in the left one, while the women have a filled milk-vessel only in the right hand. During the prayers loudly called out to heaven, they gradually pour out the contents of the gourd bottles as an offering to God and also sprinkle the warriors with
726 it. Many of the latter smear themselves on forehead and cheeks with
[237] fresh cattle dung, while the girls and the old women living in the warrior kraal put such, together with a bunch of fresh grass, on the hut roof close above the door. The custom expresses the confident hope of rich spoils in livestock.

/95/ Then the warriors march off, and, after a march of two to
[252] three hours, they pitch camp around sunset. Several head of cattle
[262] are slaughtered, the meat of which is roasted at the fire and eaten.
[411] At the same time they smear the thrusting spears with a paste of red earth or wrap them with grass or cloth so that their gleaming in the
[325] sun, visible very far away, will not betray them. Finally, they loosen the thongs of the sandals and fasten them on the underside in such a way that the sandal may be worn with the tip in the rear and the heel part toward the front, so that the footprints left behind
704 will be deceiving concerning their direction of march. During the
701 march comradeships are formed by two men in each case, each of
726 which calls the other os tirit ai, that is, my companion. /Ill. 37 appears here./ The duty of the companion is to stand by the other one in battle and, if he falls, to bring his weapon to safety. Five to ten such comradeships combine to make a section (ol ale), each of which
726 erects its own small camp. During the first days of march, still far from the enemy, it is fortified for the night by a few branches of thorns. On the evening before the attack it is replaced by the eñg adji en djoré. The spears are stuck in the ground in a semicircle about five paces in diameter, and against them, on the outside, the shields are placed in such a way that one overlaps the other like scales. The warriors lie or squat in this semicircle, armed with their weapons, awaiting

/160 cont./

805 The months of the ol airodjerod are: 1. le logunja airodjerod,
821 also called oiēni oinok, that is, the tied-up bulls. As a result of the
132 rich fodder of the recent months, they have become wild; in the pasture they would be constantly fighting with one another, hence they are separated. 2. bolos (= middle) airodjerod, or also, but more rarely, called ol dāt. 3. kudjorok, that is, cold; cool weather distinguishes this month.

805 The ol amĝii starts with the month kibēr, that is, noise and
821 strife. The pasture is sparse and as a consequence the cows give too
132 little milk to satisfy all the people. Everyone tries to appropriate
261 for himself some of the milk from the livestock of others, through
262 which strife and brawls arise. Finally the milk no longer extends
[518] to necessitous satiation, and the majority of the warriors with a few cattle move into the forest for meat eating, which usually lasts not only through the entire month, but also even over the next month of ol dońgos or ol dońos or ol dońgosch, since even then the milk is still very scant. The name seems to be formed from the word eh guschusch = food scarcity. Not until the beginning of the third month, of the boschogge, do they return to the kraals. From the
[276] abundant meat meals they feel very strong, and the heavy use of nerve-stimulating roots has affected their nerves to a high degree, and almost daily one or another has a fit of rage (1).

1. Cf. XIX, Nerve Ailments.

805 The Masai do not count years. Rather, they designate the year after the event seeming to them the most important one that happened during it, for example, after a livestock epidemic, a drought, the death of the high chief, a war expedition especially rich in spoils, etc. (2).

[171] 2. Just as the Babylonians, even in the 3rd millennium B.C., did not count the years, but gave each year a name after an outstanding event in it, especially after the deeds of the king. One proceeded similarly

/173 cont./

233 [561] [857] Small livestock and donkeys are tended by little boys, cattle by older boys, under the supervision of a few old men. Dogs are no longer used for this now; rather the livestock heeds the whistle or call of the herdsmen. To what extent this is the case is best demonstrated when Masai flee with herds of livestock. A number of men, shouting and whistling, run before and behind the herd, which rages across the steppe in a mad chase. In former times the [231] [178] herdsmen quite generally used dogs. The dogs did not serve so much to keep the herd together, but more for guarding. They announce the approach of predatory animals by barking or by hastening to the herdsmen.

231 [262] [272] /174/ As has already been mentioned above, fresh livestock blood alone or mixed with milk forms a food prized as quite particularly nourishing. The blood for this is drawn off the living cattle and goats in the following manner: A strap is tied around the animal's neck in such a way that the blood returning to the heart in the large vein is blocked by it and breathing is not affected. Then a man [411] [415] shoots an arrow (Fig. 76) with a bulb-shaped, thick tip (ol ñoret), from which projects a seale-shaped sharp piece of sheet iron six to eight millimeters long and equally wide, into the swollen vein, whereupon the blood squirts out in a stream and is caught in a gourd bottle (ol buguri). The bleeding is stopped by a simple untying of the strap after the operation is finished. From a strong bull or ox approximately four to five liters of blood are drawn at one time, from a cow only half as much, and this is repeated every month. No blood is drawn from good milch cows and cows with young calves. Blood is drawn from sheep by means of an incision in the depression above the eyes or between the eye and the middle of the forehead. The slaughtering of cattle is done by a stab in the neck after the front and hind legs have been fettered; goats and sheep are suffocated by having their mouths and noses held shut. Cows are never slaughtered, not even when they are too old to be used for breeding.

231 262 561 Livestock that has died is eaten. As soon as the animal is dead, one removes the skin from the neck, severs the neck veins, and catches the blood flowing out in the skin. The cutting up of a head of cattle is done with the greatest care; almost every single muscle is carved

/174 cont./

231 262 561 [593]

out, since special food laws determine to which class of people this or that piece will fall. From a head of cattle slaughtered during the meateating in the bush the warrior will send his father a shoulder-blade (ol ñarebuscha) and for the wives of his father the head (ol ogunja), paunch (eñ gonjóri), the entrails (menér), feet (el ollelek), as well as the hind leg without the rear half (eñ gubés), and to the girls, the lateral belly-piece (e murté). The warriors eat all the rest of the meat. If they have visits from other warriors, the latter are entitled to the long, straight belly muscle (eñ gelemián) and rear hocks (el oreschéta). On the other hand, if a head of cattle of a married man is slaughtered at the kraal, the warriors get nothing. From the cut-up animal there is put aside first for the other married men: the tongue (ol ñajéb), a shoulderblade (ol ñarebuscha), a rear hock, the rear part of the hind leg (ol móuo), the long belly-muscle; for the uncircumcised boys, the ribs (el erés), a rear hock, the filet (os sondí), the "flache /flat/ Roastbeef" -- as my cookbook calls it -- (ol oró), the heart (ol dáu). The rest of the meat is given to the women, who give the girls the lateral belly-piece and the neck (e murt) from it. The principal wife of the one to whom the slaughtered animal belongs is given the tail piece.

/175/ If the warrior slaughters a goat, the married men are given half the liver (e mónjua), the wives the paunch and head, the girls the back (en gorioñ) and the feet. If a married man slaughters a goat, he gives the wives the paunch, the rennet bag, spleen, entrails, and head, the girls back and feet, the boys a side of ribs, breast (ol oigoló), lungs (el kibiuk), heart, and a hind leg (eñ gedju muró), while he himself keeps the rest.

[593] From a warrors's sheep, the father gets the neck; the wives of the father, paunch, rennet bag, entrails, and liver; the sisters, feet and back. If a married man slaughters a sheep, the distribution to the women and girls is the same, and the boys receive the same pieces as from the father's goat. Of the individual pieces of meat, one boils [252] the bones for soup, furthermore the filets, the carved-out cutlets, the dark meat on the hind leg, and the heart. Everything else is roasted at the open fire. Brains and spinal marrow are not eaten, but thrown away. Bone marrow is sucked raw out of the smashed bones.

/175 cont./

136 [262] [224] Since the Masai do not eat game meat and hence do not pursue game in any way, it is usually very tame in the vicinity of the kraals and often grazes along with the cattle. The author saw an unforgettably beautiful scene in mid-1897 in the circular valley of Ngorongoro, where large herds of gnus and zebras, as well as Grant's and Thomson's gazelles, were grazing quietly and without any trace of fear beside and among the cattle herds of the Masai.

192 231 From the extensive nomencalture for the livestock, only the most important words are given here:

ń gischu, cattle in general;
ol oiñoni (el oiñok) or (very rarely) ol mŏ́gira, bull;
ol geteń (el moń), ox;
eń geteń (ń gischu), cow;
eń geteń naigauo nabo, cow that has calved once;
eń geteń natolŏch are, cow that has calved twice;
eń geteń 'lebon, cow that has calved a number of times;
eń geteń olobí, sterile cow;
ol gedari (el gedari), small calf in general, which stays near the kraal;
ol mediḿ (el medíḿi), older calf that is pastureed farther away;
ol arám (el aramí), older calf that grazes in the vicinity of the large livestock;
ol boñai (el boñaikog), male calf;
ol asche or ol ahe (el asche, el ahe), male calf;
en dâuo (en dâuno), female calf;
eńg asche (ńg asche), female calf;
os sigiria (es sirgon), donkey in general;
ol amuŕ (el amuŕchi), male donkey;
/176/ os sigiria oidoń (es oidoño), castrated male donkey;
es sigiria (es sirgon), female donkey;
es sigiria naigauo nabo, female donkey that has foaled once;
es sigiria eleboń, female donkey that has foaled several times;
ol gurarú (éi guraruaní), male donkey foal;
eń gurarú (ń guraruaní), female donkey foal;
os sitimá (es sitimán), full-grown male head of small livestock;

752 /192 cont./ that of an egg or even amputates the member (hand, finger, toe), if
[758] this seems to him absolutely necessary. After the operation the patient is given raw sheep kidney to eat and a considerable amount of liquid sheep fat to drink, whereupon severe diarrhea soon sets in. Often one has him go through a sweat cure in that he is set over glowing charcoal on which leaves of Barleria mucronata and sheep hair are thrown.

On a scorpion sting (a-tonjo eñ golówa) one has a woman who has given birth to twins or, lacking such, a pregnant woman spit and rubs the saliva over the painful spot. As long as the pain continues, [262] [791] the patient eats only raw goat liver, to which is ascribed some kind of marvelous effect -- as is also shown by the fact that it is the only solid food of the ol oiboni.

[759] Into the wound caused by a poisoned arrow another person urinates as quickly as possible. At the same time the wounded one is given as an emetic a mixture of the juice of the fruit of en dulele (Solanum campylacanthum) and the amniotic fluid (eñ géba) of a gravid sheep, which is slaughtered for this purpose.

757 For conjunctivitis (eñg ea eñ goño) a tobacco extract (eñ gare ol gumbau) or the juice of leaves of ol ogilidia (Coleus kilimandscharicus), ol dungui (Harrisonia abyssinica Oliv.) and ol assajet, or an extract of the leaves of ol gummi, is dripped into the eyes.

752 The surgeon removes the remains of a violently destroyed eye, by drawing it out of the eye socket, with an awl bent hook-shaped, far enough so that he can cut it off with the razor. The eye socket is then washed out with warm water and not bandaged afterwards.

[171] A place that has suffered a sprain or bruise the El dorobo rub with the juice of ol gerigus (Iatropha spec.). Sometimes they also apply the same drug by the method of rubbing the powder of the charred twigs into small incisions that are made on that place.

/193/ Dislocated limbs are set again and placed in a splint bandage that is not stiff. For a lower-arm dislocation the surgeon sits on the ground in front of the patient, grasps his lower arm just above the wrist, and sets it again by a gradually stronger pulling exerted in the required direction. He then puts around the affected [237] part, from the middle of the lower arm to that of the upper arm, which are drawn together at an angle of 135°, a padded bandage consisting of a strip of sheep leather that is covered with as much thick and soft hair as possible. The padded bandage is tied with a

/349 cont./

178 241 that are started with as a rule and which one therefore finds in all the settlements. Yet despite the ease of production of the field crops, the transition to agriculture nevertheless is taking place in a way 178 182 that is reducing the population in extraordinary fashion. First of all, the acclimatization process slowly being accomplished demands a great sacrifice of human lives. The Masai, little afflicted with 164 165 fever in the dry steppes, suffers with it quite seriously in the moist regions in which mosquitoes are permanently at home. Thus on two occasions in the same new settlement I found all the adults and many children sick with fever. Another one had just been abandoned by its inhabitants, leaving the sick behind. The ones left behind, principally men and boys, were badly reduced by fever and, in addition, suffered to a great extent from virulent leg ulcers, whose great extent -- in many cases they covered the entire lower leg, from knee to ankle -- probably is to be traced back to a general weakening of the body by fever and lack of food; for such ulcers are not common among nomadic Masai, and, where they occur, /350/ they remain smaller and show a tendency to heal rapidly. Other illnesses arise from the unfamiliar diet. The rapid transition • [262] from an almost pure meat diet to an almost pure vegetable diet makes demands on the stomach and intestines that a body weakened by fever is seldom equal to. Sickness and death from this cause are frequent and are increased further by the consumption of bad water. Thus, more than half the people in one settlement complained of painful diarrhea and bloody stools. All these acclimatization [842] illnesses seem also to manifest their effect in decreased fertility of the women and increased child mortality. I was repeat- [163] edly struck by the small number of sucklings (two-year suckling period) and older children. Thus early in 1902 in Ngaruka, between Lake Manyara and Lake Natron, among a number of about 50 women, I found only twelve children, three of them babies. According to the statements of the parents, very many children had died of various ailments, especially fever, stomach and intestinal affections, several 178 also had perished in Masai attacks. For the Masai who are becoming 619 sedentary, the ones still living among the "people" as nomads are 721 a scourge that scarcely falls short of the illnesses just mentioned in

/360 cont./

824 141. ol dirgŏ (Cordia gharuf [Forsk.] Ehrenb., Cordia quarensis Gürke). The inflamed eyes of livestock are washed out with a decoction of root or bark. About three finger-sized pieces of the [847] root are chewed to induce abortion. The roughly pea-sized vermilion [862] fruits, called en gilŭlŭ, are edible. At times of food shortage they constitute the chief food in some El kuafi settlements, for example, in Nguruman, where this large shrub occurs very abundantly. The European, after eating a few berries, feels as though his lips were stuck together.

142. ol ĕbĕretĭ (Phyllanthus kilimandscharicus Volkens). A person who has stolen a head of livestock anxiously avoids breaking off a twig of this shrub, since it is believed that otherwise the one robbed would soon recognize the thief as such. The twigs are used as goat fodder.

143. ol ĕbĕnĭĭ (Cassia obovata Coll.). A decoction of the plant serves as a remedy for stomach-ache for children.

144. ol ĕbĭtĭrŏ (Dolichos kilimandscharicus Taubert). Named after ol bitĭr = the wild pig, which likes to eat the plant. One washes young livestock with an extract of the leaves to get rid of fleas.

145. ol eboloña (Vernonia).

146. ol ebuloña (Eragrostis superba Peyr.). Rich fodder for small livestock.

147. ol ĕbŭlŏt (Bridelia cathartica Bert.). An extract of the pounded root is used as an aid to digestion and is therefore regularly drunk by the warriors at the ol bul meals.

148. en ĕdĕrĕgĕ (Psychotria fuscula K. Sch.). The sword scabbard is made out of the wood.

149. ol ĕdĭrangŏn (Pedicellaria pentaphylla L.). Good fodder for small livestock.

150. ol ĕdŭrŭt (Epaltes gariepina). During the first days after delivery, the woman in childbed is given a decoction of the plant, to which is attributed a favorable effect on the recovery of the birth organs.

[751] 151. ol ĕgĭsĭkŏn (Cissampelos Pareira L.). Pieces of root are worn as amulets, mostly on the neck ring, for all possible illnesses, and, to be sure, both to prevent them and to cure them.

/360 cont./

824 152. ol ĕgŏgoĭa (Hibiscus micranthus L.). Shield hoops are made from the branches.

153. ol ĕgŏlĭa (Phyllanthus maderaspatensis L.). Good fodder for small livestock.

• [262] /361/ 154. ol egororom (Duvernoia interrupta Lindm.). The berrylike fruits are eaten.

155. ol ĕgŭrĭgĭ = en ĕgmĕgachŏ.

156. ekum (Spilanthus Acmella L.). If the noses of little children, especially babies, become sore because of the flies that during the day are almost always sitting on the nostrils, the mother chews the herb and smears the sore spots with the chewed-out juice. The plant is chewed as a loosening agent for coughs. Moreover, the mother gives the baby afflicted with feverish bronchial catarrh the extract obtained by her from chewing a small piece of the pungent root, mixed with milk, to drink.

157. ol eleschua (Tarchonatus camphoratus). On account of its fragrance, ropelike neck rings are made from various parts of the plant, smelling strongly like vanilla.

158. ol ĕmbŭrĭasch (Andorpogon intermedius R. Br., var. punctatus [Roxb.] Hack.). The livestock in general does not like to eat the grass, which, according to the statements of the Masai, is not harmful.

159. en ĕmĕrĕgĕsch (Eragrostis superba Wawr. et Peyr.). Good fodder grass, especially for sheep.

160. ol ĕmŏrĭn (Ocimum canum Sims.). The peppermint-like herb is powdered and used as snuff in the absence of tobacco.

161. ol ĕmŭdŏnŏl (Pelargonium multibracteatum Hoch.). Good fodder for livestock.

162. ol ĕndĭnŏgĭ = ol ĭndĭnŏgĭ.

[262] 163. ol enda 'njugi. The fruits are eaten.

164. ol ĕngĭjĕbĕ (Duvernoia interrupta Lindm.). Good fodder for small livestock.

/382/

824 170. eŋg ɛ̀ɛ̀mɛ̀ɛ̀m (Senecio longiflorus D.C.). Fodder for small livestock.

171. ol ɛ̀ɛ̀mɛ̀ɛ̀m (Cissus Oliveriana [Engl.] Gilg.). Fodder for small livestock.

172. ol ɛ̀rbàt (Achyranthes aspera L.). Fodder for small livestock.

173. ol ɛ̀rbàt kìtók (Achyranthes spec.). Fodder for small livestock.

174. en kɛ̀ɛ̀rɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ (Cuscuta cotusiflora A.B.K.). Fodder for small livestock.

175. ol ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ (Helinus mystacinus [Ait.] Hemsl.).

176. ol ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ɔ̀k (Hoslundia verticillata Vahl.). Edible fruits.

177. ol ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ (Pavonia Kraussiana Hoch.). Fodder for small livestock.

178. eɨ gàbìɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ (Boscia coriacea Pax.). Edible fruits. The Shrub is regarded as prized fodder for donkeys.

179. eɨ gadardar (Ochna Merkeri Gilg). Secret medicine of the ol goiatiki. Clubs and ear plugs are carved out of the hard, beautifully marked wood.

180. eɨ gallowai (Commiphora spec.). Fodder for small livestock.

181. eɨ gaiɛ̀ɛ̀tuai (Physalis minima L.). A few twigs are placed in the first bath of the newborn child as protective magic against sicknesses of all kinds.

182. eɨ gaiɛ̀dʒoi (Oxygonum sinuatum [Hochst. et Std.] Bth. et Hk.). Fodder for small livestock. These sorrel leaves are eaten along the way as thirst-quenching. [291]

183. eɨ gaiɛ̀dʒoi ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀ eɨ gɛ̀re (Oxygonum sinuatum). The stems are chewed as thirst-quenching. [291]

184. eɨ gaisedjoi kitok (Rumex abyssinicus Jacq.). Livestock fodder. The leaves are eaten along the way as thirst-quenching. [291]

185. eɨ gaisedjoi os sobugo. Use like the above species.

186. ol gɛ̀lɛ̀ (Phaseolus aff. Schimperi Taub.). Fodder for small livestock. Children eat the roots. [262]

187. eɨ gàɛ̀ɛ̀chɔ̀ (Oldenlandia Schimperi T. And.). If cattle have fever, they are given the plant, sprinkled with wood ashes, to eat.

188. eɨ gàmàrìɛ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀. As protective magic against lions, the person spending the night alone in the open steppe or in the bush ties a twig on a stick and plants this in the ground beside him. [784] [825]

824 /362 cont./

189. ol gïrïechï. Ropes are made out of the hair.

190. ol gïrmïlïïlai (1)

1. The red blooming Tallinum cuneifolium Willd. and Tallinum caffrorum (Thbg.) Eckl. u. Zeyh. are likewise designated as ol garmalasia.

(Portulaca oleacea L.). Yellow blossoms. Good fodder for small livestock. El kuafi and impoverished El maasai eat the leaves as a spinachlike vegetable.

• [262] 191. ol gauri. Good fodder gram, especially for cattle.

192. ol gïwïmï (Claytia kilimandscharica Engl.). The leaves are chewed in the case of throat catarrh and are supposed to have a loosening effect.

193. en gïwïrï (Sporobolus cordofanus Hoch.). Good fodder gram, especially for cattle.

194. ol gïtïmja (Combretum spec.). /363/ Cattle sick with ehg ta om benek are given an infusion of an extract of the pounded leaves and fruits as a strong laxative.

195. ol gïbïrï i ï gïmï (Sphaeranthus microcephalus Willd.). An extract of this herb is added to the first bath of the newborn child. During the first days after the delivery, the woman in childbed drinks a decoction of this plant, to which is attributed a favorable effect for the recovery of the birth organs.

196. ol gïbïrï i ï gïmï ol sirgun (Sphaeranthus suaveolens D.C.). Popular fodder for donkeys: it has the advantage that it only rarely dries up, even in the driest period.

197. ol gïdïï olbï (Ruttemannia verticillarum [L.] Engl.). Gravid goats are said frequently to miscarry after eating this plant.

198. ol gïgïi gïwï u ol eberri (Phyllanthus kilimandscharicus Volkens).

199. ol gïlï (Teclea undulata Engl.). The decoction of approximately ten finger-sized pieces of root is drunk unmixed for gonorrhea, mixed with milk and fresh blood as a tonic for the wounded.

/364 cont./

824 216. oi giramatian (Enneapogon mossambicus [Vahl] Pilger). Good cattle fodder.

217. oá girkwó (Eragrostis lepropetalum [DC.] Nees.). Good goat fodder. The leaves are also eaten as a vegetable by the el kuafi.

[362] 218. oi girkwá (Olinia Volkensii Gilg.). The simple dose of this nerve-stimulating remedy consts of the decoction of a piece of bark approximately five square inches in size, which is drunk as desired in the course of the day.

219. oi girgiri (Pterolobium lacerans R. Br.). Shield hoops are made from the twigs.

220. oi girishori (1)

1. Here and there Indigofera Bainesana Vike. was also called this.

(Tephrosia anthylloides Hoch.). Goats are said to die if they eat a great deal of this.

221. oi girika (Aristida adscensionis L.). In general good fodder gram, but cattle do not like to eat it when it blooms, because they dislike the smell of the blossom.

222. oi girika olbor. Good cattle fodder.

223. oi girigir (Acacia pennata Willd.). The wood is used to make bows and shield hoops. Root powder is blown into the noses of calves and small livestock to drive away the maggots of the warble fly.

224. oá girishingí (Micromeria biflora [Ham] Bth.).

225. oi girkoi (Haemanthus nov. spec.). The extract of a cut-up, approximately fist-sized bulb is one of the means of inducing the oo lowchona sickness. The use of this drug is not as common as that of the other stimulants.

[271] 226. oi gú árómbila (Stathmostelma globuliflorum K. Sch.). The large tuber is eaten to quench thirst on the march.

227. oi girilgí (Clerodendron Hildebrandtii Vike.). To cure the e' bujalgat sickness the cattle are given an infusion of leaf extract mixed with some milk.

/364 cont./

824 228. ol gobĕrĕsai. Fodder for small livestock.

229. eń gŏbŏńi. The leaves are chewed as a loosening remedy for coughs.

230. ol gŏdit ŏnjŭgi (Andropogon schoenanthus L.). After /365/ eating this grass, calves are afflicted with severe diarrhea, which often leads rapidly to death.

231. ol gŏdjit (Eragrostis spec.). Good fodder grass, especially for cattle.

232. ol gŏdjita ŏnjŭgi (Themeda Forskahlii Hack.). The grass, growing very thick, remains fresh in its lower part even during the dry season and for this reason is particularly valued as cattle fodder, though it is regarded as only middling in its goodness.

233. ol gŏdjŭk. The decoction of five finger-sized pieces of root is mixed with beef broth and is a stimulant often consumed at the meat meals of warriors.

234. eń gŏgi (Lycium cf. arabicum Schwfth.). A root decoction, mixed with milk or meat broth, is drunk to cure the ol dododoi l en dare sickness.

235. ol gŏgŏrisĭai. Babies are given an infusion of a root decoction if their behavior makes one think of illness and one is uncertain about its nature.

236. eń gŏgŏ mŏtŏnj (Boerhavia spec.).

237. ol gŏgŭrŏi (Berkheyopsis diffusa [Oliv.] O. Hffm.). Good fodder for small livestock.

• [262] 238. ol gŏiángne (Ipomoea spec.). Children eat the roots.

239. ol gŏisĕrĕrie (Kedrostis spec.). Fodder for small livestock.

240. ol gŏlili (Ficus spec.). The bast is used for binding the switches in the hut construction.

241. eń gŏlŏschŏ (Capparis galeata Fres.). An extract of the pounded shrub is given to feverish children to drink for curing purposes. The orange-colored, figlike fruit is edible.

242. eń gŏmăni. A decoction of a piece of bark half a square foot in size is drunk as a nerve stimulant and is said to make it possible for the warrior to cover great stretches in rapid march.

/369 cont./

824 [301] 322. ol mogoŋgora, a liana not infrequent in the river forests. The root bark, smelling strongly like vanilla, is twisted, ropelike, and worn by men and women as a neckband. It also finds use as a secret medicine of the ol oiboni and the ol goiatiki.

323. ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica Brongn.). One or two hand-sized pieces of trunk bark or root bark are pounded with a club into fibers and held for a few minutes in boiling meat broth for steeping. This soup is used by warriors as a nerve stimulant, by [832] women as an aphrodisiac. To cure gonorrhea, one adds a small amount of honey to the broth before drinking it. An extract that is made with double or /370/ triple the amount of bark is used to get rid of taeniae and ascarids, or also as an emetic for bilious fever. The fresh bark bast is chewed for constipation.

[262] 324. ol momoi (Solanum nigrum L.). Children eat the berrylike fruits.

325. ol morĭn (Ocimim suave Willd.). A root decoction is used as an emetic.

326. ol moridjoi or ol morijoi (Acocanthera abyssinica). The arrow poison is obtained from the roots and wood by boiling.

327. ol marok 1 on dare.

328. 'mtaŋguju (Maerua rigida Oliv.). From the powdered root [751] the ol oiboni makes an amulet that is supposed to protect one against colds and fever.

329. ol muguti kitok (Caralluma spec.). The soft, fleshy twigs [291] are eaten by warriors on the march, by boys tending cattle, to quench thirst.

330. ol muguti 1 ol nŏdjĭnĕ (Euphorbia spec.). Hyenas allegedly eat this plant.

331. ol muguti 1 ol ugaru.

332. ol mŭmĭnj (Acacia abyssinica Hoch.). Fodder for small livestock.

333. ol munjagara (1)

1. Also called en gĭtămbŭ.

(Acalypha indica L.). Good fodder for small livestock.

*136 to most kinds of life, and certainly a barrier to normal wildebeest movements. If this area were less desiccated in previous times, it probably would have been the only point of contact between the eastern and western races of wildebeest. The Roosevelt collections from the Suswa area, however, would indicate that there had not been significant mixing of the races there, implying that any recent contact would have been on a small scale and any significant connection had been in the far past.

*136 184 224 *233 182 (262) No wildebeests remain in the northern area of the Rift. There are fenced ranches now south of Lake Naivasha and in the Rift adjoining the Suswa area. The remaining wild animals (kongonis, gazelles, etc.) are hunted on some of these ranches as food for labor. It appears that after the former wildebeest population of this area became isolated from the populations farther west (through Masai overgrazing in the Mosiro area) it was gradually hunted out. Kongonis and Thomson's gazelles are still found in this area.

Summary

*13 121 Masailand is centrally located in the system of grassland belts of Africa. The grassland ecosystems of Masailand are typical of the most biologically productive

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

123 824 Our use of the capture gun to capture and mark wild animals was of particular interest to the Masai. 123 461 824 They would often come up to watch us. Masai are famed for their refusal to carry out manual labor of any sort hence are regarded in East Africa as poor helpers on safari. However, labor, where it involves animals, is another matter. Sometimes Masai would come up and voluntarily help us handle captured animals, and this they did very well. We even experienced Masai coming to our camps to talk about our capture work that they had observed from a distance.

123 262 609 When we had extra meat from animals that we collected, we took it to the nearest Masai village. Most writers have reported that Masai will not eat the meat of most wild animals. We found, however, that they gladly accepted it in most cases. They always wanted to know what animals were involved. In several cases, when we first approached a village those who came out to meet us would refuse the meat. Then someone who knew us or knew of us would appear and accept the meat, explaining that the others did not know us.

123 757 Virtually all visitors to Masailand are regarded as a sort of travelling dispensary by the Masai. This is true throughout the world for most people who do not have

started in and under the dung it is similar to a peat fire and virtually impossible to put out.

Masai also sometimes abandon a boma, or at least the house involved, if a person dies in it. People who are very seriously ill are removed from the boma at least during the day, often to a small thorn boma with a shelter constructed nearby. They may remain there at night also. It was difficult to learn much definite about this practice. A disabled person spending the night outside a boma is very likely to end up inside a hyaena. The administration frowns on this efficient method of disposal and consequently the Masai have become reticent to talk about it. The sick persons' bomas that we saw looked to have been occupied nights as well as days.

Foods: Traditionally the Masai are supposed to survive entirely on blood and milk (Gunther, 1955). In Western Masailand the Masai diet consists of posho (maize meal), milk, meat, and occasionally blood. The cows and sometimes goats are milked by the women and little girls. The milk is collected in large calabashes. These calabashes, ochre colored and sometimes ornately decorated with beads, are almost as much a symbol of the Masai as the ochre blankets or cloaks, moran spears and hair styles.

234 hair styles. The gourds are grown by nearby cultivators
415
[264] and purchased or traded by the Masai. The calabashes are cleaned between usings by washing in water (if available) and then purified with a mixture of urine and wood ash. After being carried in one of these containers the milk has a rather characteristic, somewhat smoky-sweet taste that may stay with one for several days.

443 The maize meal is purchased or traded from the dukas or trading post cum general stores which are found at Narok, Loliondo, and at other points around the periphery of the area.

• 262
272 Meat comes from the Masai livestock and occasionally game. The old traditions laid down specified rules for who in the tribe might eat what kind of meat, and at
[701] what times. Apparently the warriors had a right to demand milk and sometimes meat from anyone, at least in their section. Milk and meat were not to be consumed on the same day, but blood could be mixed with the milk.

701
[562] When not fighting the warriors could carry out an olpul, or meat camp. They would take goats or a bullock and make camp in the bush, kill and eat the animals. The olpul might take from a week to a month,
[826] depending on the available time and meat. We presume that

21:Huxley Q, T-5 (no date) 1960 FL11 Luo
Masai FL12

CHAPTER 10

Masai Herds and Mara Lions

I

THE Masai have won respect by their contempt for civilization and all that it has offered them. For half a century Europeans have been tempting them with all the material bribes, indeed even non-material ones, for which every Bantu and Nilotic people is avid. There is scarcely an African of the fat lands who would not sell his soul for a school certificate. The Masai have rejected school certificates with a proud and lofty disdain.

Will a certificate fatten a bullock or swell the belly of a cow? Masai hearts are with their cattle; they desire no finer destiny for a son than to walk in the dust of a larger herd than his father's. The young man who dreams of glory sees fine white bulls and brindled cows and green grass knee-high, he does not see the stone bungalow, the shining motor-car, the well-cut suit, the framed diploma so alluring to his darker fellow-countrymen. He likes to wear his hair in matted pigtails smeared with red ochre and rancid butter, to stand with one foot against the other knee, to eat a compound of bullock's blood and curdled milk, to carry his long spear and to keep his women in their beads and coils and fly-infested mud burrow as his ancestors did—those ancestors whose lion head-dresses and painted shields filled the hearts of lesser breeds with terror, and won the right of conquest over the steppes of eastern Africa from their northern Somali deserts to their southern tsetse bush.

For the Masai have pride, and pride is a quality we recoil from in ourselves and half-admire, half-deplore in others. An Englishman today must stamp with the hob-nail boots of equality upon the little shoots of pride that cannot help but spring up in his heart; but when he sees the fine, free growth of it in others, an envious respect attacks him. For